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An analysis of labor's new status

The Taft-Hartley Law

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ON JUNE 23 the Taft-Hartley bill became the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947. Its 73 pages of legislative print carried in their sweep a sharp reversal of the principles of the Wagner Act, repeal of the labor principles of the Clayton Act and virtual nullification of the Norris-LaGuardia Act.

Its enactment closed temporarily one of the sharpest and most important legislative debates in Congressional history. Its enactment, however, does not close the all-important public and political debate on the labor policy of the nation. At the time of the enactment of the bill, this country stood on the threshold of an era which promised almost unprecedented industrial peace. Steel had signed for two years. The automotive industry, the electrical industry, most other major industries in the nation had fallen into line. Only coal and railroad stood out as major areas of unsettled issues. Coal found its solution within a matter of days and without particular regard for the provisions of the new law, while the railroad industry, in any event, is not covered by the new law.

Into this pattern of increasingly successful collective bargaining has been injected a new and sweeping revision of accepted patterns of law and thought in labor-management relations. Labor and the nation may be excused for viewing with a certain amount of skepticism and mistrust both the timing and development of such a revision.

Added point is given to labor's analysis of the intent and effect of the Taft-Hartley Law by a consideration of the pattern of Congressional action into which the new statute fits. This law was the product of a Congress which met when price control had been dead for six months and when the crippled status of O.P.A. for several months prior to its demise on June 30, 1946, had already loosed ominous samples of the inflation to come. Congress met at a time when the price levels were alarming all but the profiteers. It met at a time when the nation faced the most critical housing shortage in its history.

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For six months, however, starting with a special pre-session conference and program formulated by Senators Taft, Ball and Smith, Congress labeled as its Number One item of action the drive against labor.

The Congress which enacted the Taft-Hartley Law was the same Congress which destroyed any semblance of a veterans' housing program, dealt the final blows to the future of rent-control, slashed the budgets of those federal agencies most directly concerned with the activities of the welfare of the common people, and sought repeatedly the enactment of a tax measure offering pennies to incomes in the lowest brackets and major reductions to incomes in the highest brackets. It was a Congress in which no action was taken or even suggested, until the last minute, on raising the obsolete 40-cent minimum wage, in which no action was even suggested for revising obsolete social security benefit levels or extending coverage, and in which pleas for higher subsistence allowances for veterans in training went unheeded. It was a Congress in which, only after six months of this sorry record of complete disregard of the basic problems and needs of the American people, was there a willingness even to recognize the existence of high prices, and then only to the extent of a suggestion for an "investigation."

In this context, the Taft-Hartley Act can be recognized as a consistent and very effective part of a pattern of repression of the working population, of the wage and salary earners, of the interests of the broad body of the American people, and part of a pattern of advancement of the views and interests of the highest income brackets, the real estate lobbies, and other groups of similar economic and political make-up.

This is a pattern which is reflected in an analysis of the pages of the law itself.

The campaign for passage of the law was characterized by much of the deception, distortion and outright untruth characteristic of the Nazi technique of the big lie.

It was implied that *labor unions were not subject to law suit for violation of their contracts*—an untruth. An attack on the principle of union security was clothed in oratory on the "right to work," oratory mouthed most frequently by those who had been coolest in their willingness to support fair employment practices legislation to guarantee to Negroes and other minority groups the right to work without discrimination. It was implied that *our national labor policy favored and legalized violence and coercion* —an untruth. It was asserted that *our national labor policy had created a one-sided favoritism for labor*— an untruth—and under cover of this assertion sponsors of this bill proceeded to align the powers of government unequivocally on the side of the employer for the suppression of labor organizations.

Our federal labor policy on the day before the Taft-Hartley bill became law was contained basically in two much maligned pieces of legislation: The Norris-LaGuardia Act and the Wagner Act. The

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first, marking the final blow in 1932 to an era in which the use of the injunction as an anti-union weapon had been recognized as a national scandal both by the friends and foes of labor, stated basically two things: (1) That federal court injunctions should not restrain *peaceful* strikes or picketing, and (2) that where violence or other unlawful activity justifies issuance of an injunction, certain elementary principles of procedural fair play should prevail, such as the giving of notice to the union that an injunction is being sought, the taking of testimony in open court, the presentation of proof that injunctive relief is needed, that local police cannot or will not afford adequate protection.

The Wagner Act, marking official acceptance of the principle of collective bargaining, decreed only (1) that employees were to be free to designate a collective bargaining agency without threat of discharge, discrimination and similar employer tactics; and (2) that when a majority have made a designation, the employer will meet peacefully with the designated representative for purposes of collective bargaining.

Neither law determined wages, hours or working conditions; neither required employers to accept a closed shop, a union shop, or any union security clause at all. Neither affected in any way the contents of the collective bargaining agreement —which was left entirely a matter for negotiation between the parties. Neither affected in any way the entire body of state criminal law penalizing force or violence in labor disputes, as in any other human activity. Neither affected the basic control of the employer over wages, hours and working conditions, subject only to items agreed to in negotiation with the representatives of his employees.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of the Wagner Act to the industrial scene was the establishment of peaceful and effective machinery for proving the desires of employees with respect to collective bargaining representation and for bringing the employer and the union into the collective bargaining conference room. The Act thus eliminated the necessity for the struggle between the union and the employer over the right to be recognized and assured that the parties would come together for more fruitful negotiation over the actual substance of wages, hours and working conditions.

Basic to an understanding of the implications of the Taft-Hartley Law is a realization that it has completely altered the basic concept, purpose and effect of the National Labor Relations Act and the National Labor Relations Board. It has destroyed the value of the machinery of the Board as a means of assuring peaceful collective bargaining relations. It has created a multitude of obstacles and hindrances to collective bargaining. It has converted the Board essentially into an instrument for attack upon unions and for limitation upon collective bargaining negotiation and agreement.

At the same time it has reversed

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the history of many decades which culminated in the enactment of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. With much oratory on the necessity for continuing the ban on employer injunctions, the sponsors of the bill proceeded hypocritically to provide for issuance of exactly the same kind of injunction against labor, not at the direct request of the employer but at the request of officers of the government — the General Counsel of the Board or the Attorney General of the United States — acting as agents of the employer.

ANALYSIS

Brief analysis of a few of the major headings of the bill will make clear the operation of some of these processes.

Consider, for example, the operation of the bill with respect to contract clauses providing union security. The concept of union security includes a number of different types of clauses. It includes the so-called "closed shop" under which all hiring is done initially from union ranks; the union shop under which the employer hires on the open market subject only to the requirement that all persons hired become members of the union; and the maintenance of membership clause under which both hiring and the decision to join the union are completely free and voluntary, subject only to the requirement that once an employee elects to join the union he does so with the full understanding and realization that he is required to maintain his membership for the life of the collective bargaining agreement.

Approximately three-fourths of all labor contracts contain one or another form of these provisions. The principle embodied in these provisions is the product of decades of growth in acceptance of the principle of collective bargaining. Where the status and stature of the labor organization as the designated representative of the employees is given good faith recognition, employer and union alike have come to recognize that the bargaining agent designated by the majority, and required to bargain without discrimination on behalf of all, is entitled to a certain measure of assured support and continuity.

From the point of view of the employees there is a natural resentment by the majority who are union members against those who persist in remaining parasitic "free riders." There is a strong feeling that those who benefit from the negotiations and activities of the collective bargaining agency should participate equally in formulating its decisions and in supporting its functions.

From the point of view of the employer, there has been a continually growing recognition that a union relieved of the necessity for engaging in a constant organizing drive during the life of the contract is able to act more efficiently in the administration of the contract; that enforcement of the contract terms and prevention of wildcat violation is completely possible only for a union given some disciplinary powers over the employees; that stability and mutual respect by employer and union can evolve only from complete acceptance by each of the other, and an elimination of any

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concept of contest and competition for the allegiance of the individual employees.

The Taft-Hartley Act completely outlaws the closed shop.

It purports to preserve the union shop and the maintenance of membership clause. Before a union may even request such a clause of an employer, however, it must first have established, (in all probability by secret ballot conducted by the N.L.R.B.), that it is the designated representative of a majority of the employees. It must then, in a separate and special ballot required to be conducted by the N.L.R.B., secure a majority of the votes, not merely of those who participate in the election, but of all who are eligible, specifically approving the negotiation of a union security contract. The difficulty of this second step may perhaps be appreciated when it is recognized that Senator Taft, although elected by a majority or plurality of those who turned out to vote in Ohio, nevertheless holds office by virtue of the vote of far less than 30 per cent of the total number of eligible voters of his state.

Even assuming, however, that a union is able to secure the necessary approval, it is then by no means assured of the inclusion of the clause but is simply empowered to make the request of the employer. And, even assuming that it prevails upon the employer to grant a union security clause, the union under the new law is able to secure a document which may not in any way be invoked against a company spy discovered in its ranks, an embezzler,

—Ben Yomen in the *Southern Teamster.*
"WHAT A RECORD, WHAT A RECORD!"

a disrupter, a contract violator or any other type of offender. It may invoke the clause only against those who failed to pay their dues. In other words, the very elements of responsibility, contract enforcement and discipline which make the union security clause valuable to the employer himself are outlawed under the law and the clause is made nothing more than a dues collection device.

It should be borne in mind, moreover, that estimates as to the number of union security clauses now in effect range between 50 and 100,000. The N.L.R.B., in conducting elections on the question of employee choice of representatives, has averaged recently approximately 6,000 elections a year—and at that rate has averaged a delay of seven months between the filing of a petition and the actual conduct of an

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election. Now this same Board is to have thrust upon it not merely a vastly increased burden of votes on representation rights (increased by encouragement of employer petitions and minority employee petitions) but also the conduct of these relatively meaningless special and separate union security clause ballots. It is small wonder, then, that President Truman in his veto message, designating the Act unworkable, suggested that at its present rate of operation the N.L.R.B. would swiftly develop a backlog of five years' work.

Nor does this fully state the extent to which the Taft-Hartley Law has succeeded in rendering impotent and meaningless the functioning of the Board as a medium for enforcing collective bargaining rights. The Act has created so-called "union unfair labor practices." Separate reference will be made shortly to the scope of some of these. Among them is a prohibition on so-called "restraint" or "coercion" on employees. There is a specific requirement that before any election may be conducted by the Board the union must show not merely that it has filed all requisite reports with the Secretary of Labor, but in addition that both it and its international union have distributed to all of their respective members copies of their respective financial reports. Thus the bargaining rights of a small group of employees may hinge on whether or not a showing can be made that all of the hundreds of thousands of members of an international union throughout the country have received the reports.

Most unions have little problem with respect to the publication and distribution of their reports. Indeed, since 1943 the filing of such reports with a government agency — the Treasury Department—has been a requirement of the law. It can be safely predicted, however, that few employers anxious to evade and delay their collective bargaining obligations will fail to greet a union petition for election with, first, a charge that the union has engaged in "restraint" and "coercion" and, second, an assertion that somewhere, somehow, the union has slipped up in the full distribution of financial reports to all members throughout the country. Regardless of the truth or falsity of such charges and assertions, the necessity for hearings and litigation on these issues will serve the employer's purpose of delay far beyond even the normal delays imposed by the burden of work described above.

No union seeking recognition or seeking to negotiate with the employer for its recognition, can sit idly by for a matter of years while lawyers debate its status in the complex and cumbersome machinery which has been created by the Taft-Hartley Law. A union which did so would be committing slow suicide, since union membership rests upon a foundation of performance, negotiation and action in the sphere of collective bargaining relationships.

The unions in effect have been left with no alternative but to realize that the Magna Charta which was given to the labor movement in 1935 has been destroyed in 1947.

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It is this recognition which underlies the stated policy of major unions of the labor movement, both A.F. of L. and C.I.O., to rest in their future organizational activities on their own strength and membership and not on the illusory functioning of the Board. To have failed to take such a position, in the judgment of these unions, would have been to delude their membership and to have marched their unions into a murderous quicksand.

This conclusion, in the judgment of these unions, is bolstered by a survey of the role assigned by the new law to the Board, its General Counsel, and other government officers in the labor management structure of the future. Strikes based on a refusal to handle scab products or a refusal of the employees of one employer to act as strike-breakers against fellow employees in another plant, strikes based on the proper distribution of job functions, have been declared unfair labor practices. Revising the dilatory operation which characterized the Board's procedure when it affected solely employer practices, the Act has placed in the hands of the Board's General Counsel the power to seek federal court injunctions against unions in these situations without even awaiting the issuance of a complaint by the Board and without even the conduct of a hearing by the Board.

Strikes affecting a substantial portion of an industry may be subject to an 80-day injunction issued by federal courts at the request of the Attorney General of the United States.

Unions are to be subject to suit in the federal courts without regard to the jurisdictional requirements which would normally attach to federal law suits under any type of contract other than a labor agreement. In such suits, the union treasuries, in direct reversal of a specific provision of the Norris-La-Guardia Act, are to be liable even for acts which were neither expressly authorized nor subsequently ratified or approved. It has been as a direct response to this imposition of sweeping and unpredictable liability that unions have been compelled to insist that they are unable to place in their collective bargaining agreements the type of no-strike assurance which they have heretofore been perfectly willing to give.

CONSEQUENCES

The two initial, most direct and immediate consequences of the law thus far indicated are of great significance. The first of these consequences flows from the fact that, in place of the use of peaceful machinery for establishment and enforcement of collective bargaining rights, unions have been thrust backward into the conditions which prevailed prior to the existence of the Wagner Act. The labor movement will undoubtedly continue to be willing to participate with employers in elections conducted by municipal authorities, by impartial unofficial agencies, or by any other means which offers an expeditious determination of the desires of employees. In the case of those employers who find encouragement in the new Act to resist any expeditious furtherance of the collective bargaining process

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and who insist on invocation of the new law's devices for entrapment, it is more than probable that the country will see an unfortunate but necessary revival of the strike for recognition which constituted so large a proportion of the total volume of industrial strife in the years before the Wagner Act. In a second direction, the Act's careless and almost limitless expansion of union liability may be expected to produce a sharp reduction in the number of no-strike assurances previously prevalent in labor contracts.

Employers of a type which had to some extent in most major industries been relegated to a minority—the ruthless and vigorous union-busting, labor-hating reactionary elements in industry—may now be expected to seek to reassert their dominance and leadership of prior years. For them the new law has flashed a green light.

Whether these employers will once more become totally dominant in the American scene will depend in some measure on the good sense of American employers generally, and in large measure on the strength and vigor of the labor movement itself. Sound labor relations based on mutual respect and cooperation will face their most provocative, obstructive and wasteful struggle in their efforts to cope with the new law and with those who will seek to make use of it.

Perhaps the most ironic and cynical portion of the new law is the section whereby the legislators responsible for its enactment sought to escape the political consequences of their own actions. Having torn from labor the fruits of decades of hard-fought struggle, having turned the guns of government power against the labor movement, the sponsors of the bill actually sought at the same time to stifle the political voice of labor and prevent the rallying of labor forces for self-defense against the open attack thus made. In this section, the bill sought to expand the earlier prohibition on political "contributions" into an additional prohibition on political "expenditures" by labor unions. In the express judgment of Senator Taft, this was intended to prevent any labor union from calling attention in the columns of its newspaper or by any other publication of the union to the record of those who voted for the Taft-Hartley bill and similar measures.

In the interests of a free and democratic America, it is to be hoped that the months intervening between now and the critical 1948 elections will see an ever greater awakening among the people of the country to an appreciation of the significance of the pattern of action represented by the record of the Eightieth Congress up to the present time—a pattern of which the Taft-Hartley Law is only one, but a major, part. Only if such an awakening finds its reflection in the choice of the leaders of this nation in 1948 can we have hope for the continuation of the democratic trends which have marked the growth of this country over the last 15 years.

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The practical problem Congress must face

The Riddle of U.M.T.

By T. H. Thomas

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SO FAR, the discussion of the new plan for universal military training has been a matter of sharp *pros* and *cons*. The arguments for and against have voiced positive and sweeping opinions as to whether the thing was desirable or necessary; and, for the most part, they have merely voiced opposing extremes. Practically speaking, they have not found a single footing of common ground; and almost never has there been much thought of the practical problems involved.

The opponents of the measure, in effect, have ignored the whole problem of providing a substantial trained reserve. Yet if there is one obvious and indisputable lesson of the war, it is precisely the necessity of having a substantial reserve ready against the event of a sudden crisis. In order to avoid conscription, Congress and the country have set up by far the largest volunteer standing army in history—a force far larger than the conscript German army of 1914. And yet this huge establishment, like our record-breaking peace-time Navy, is not in any way organized to shoulder even the initial burden of a war. In that event, it would have to be expanded to a new and quite different footing, by being filled out with some millions of people now in civilian life. Except on paper, however, the present system does not adequately provide for this; it does not build up a reserve of trained civilians, and even the rank and file of the regular Army are not earmarked or obligated in any way to be called out as a reserve in time of need. In spite of the vastly larger peace-time organization we are now maintaining, it is hardly better organized for expanding to a war-footing than the inadequate forces of 1939.

The supporters of Universal Military Training, on the other hand, rather tend to view the matter as a simple moral or patriotic issue—with little thought of the critical, practical problems it raises. They do face the issue of a trained reserve, but their solution is merely to superpose a huge additional training programme on an existing system which is obviously defective. It does not lighten in any way the fantastic financial burden of our present voluntary system, and it does not offer any convincing arrangement for incorporating the proposed reserve into the standing Army and Navy in the event of war. Above all, the supporters of the measure seem to take it for granted that merely by enacting it into law, the immense training apparatus required for dealing with so huge a contingent will automatically bring itself into existence. Will it? The German

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army and navy together, up to 1914, drafted only about 300,000 men per year. It is now proposed that in addition to the Regular Army and Navy we take into training a contingent of about 850,000 per year.

This disregard of the practical aspects of the matter was a striking feature of the report of the committee of eminent civilians appointed by the President to survey the problem. Their report offered many broad generalizations on the whole field of national defense, but as regards the specific issue of universal training, it presented merely a conclusion. That conclusion may have been right or wrong, but by the nature of things it was a matter of judgment and opinion. To be convincing, any such judgment ought at least to have made a passing allusion to the practical problems involved in training 850,000 men a year. That figure is far above twice the total of freshmen entering college year by year (throughout the country) in the period before the war. They entered colleges that were already going concerns, with faculties and teaching staffs ready and waiting to receive the new contingent of students.

This is far from the case as regards the annual contingent of 850,000 military freshmen contemplated under the measure now proposed. The necessary plant, to some degree, can be arranged from whatever properly equipped training camps may have survived demobilization; many more, no doubt, would be required. The experimental six-month training course now being carried on by volunteer recruits, as a demonstration, suggests that the Army has already revised intelligently (for peace-time purposes) the methods of basic training that proved so successful during the war. It is not difficult to provide competent instructors for the single demonstration battalion. But when it comes to a contingent of 850,000, who is to make up the teaching staff?

The Regular Army, in time of peace, has never attempted any such undertaking. By and large, in all its history, it has never undertaken any very serious peace-time training even for the small totals of its own rank and file. In the past, its methods of training new recruits have adjusted themselves all too easily to the comfortable circumstances of long-term enlistments; an unhurried and more or less casual set of procedures. All recruits acquired a due touch of "drill and discipline," but there was little approach to a uniform or complete schedule of instruction. Most of the rank and file knew little or nothing of the practical field exercises which proved essential when serious training was taken up again in 1940.

By and large, in former days, the "professional experience" of the individual soldier depended on the particular duty to which fate assigned him. For many years, the troops stationed on the western frontiers were thoroughly seasoned by an active peace-time routine; in the specialized tasks of Indian warfare, their professional competence was not surpassed by any soldiers of their day. Yet, in these same years, the troops scattered about in small quiet garrisons (even in the

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West) marked time in an idle and completely sedentary existence. They were "professional soldiers" only in that they had no other profession; the routine of their life was military only in outward appearance. As regards tactics and practical field training, many of the companies of Regulars brought into the fray in 1861 had to start from scratch quite like the newly formed regiments of volunteers.

These peace-time routines which by-passed real training carried on during the half-century following 1865. In 1916, General Leonard Wood reminded a Congressional Committee that a long enlistment did not necessarily imply a well-trained soldier. He pointed out that in the average routine a soldier was kept busy with necessary housekeeping duties that had nothing to do with professional training. He stated flatly that in six months devoted wholly to training, a recruit could learn more than many Regulars actually did in the course of three or five years' service devoted to miscellaneous odds and ends. The intensive basic training programmes devised in 1941, under General McNair, put into effect the common sense principle Leonard Wood had brought forward so long before.

It is interesting to note, that in the considered judgment of an outstanding soldier, a six-month period of training was held to be practical and worth while for basic individual instruction. For years past, all too many Regular officers have been scornful of any idea for intensive short-time training, and in fact for any service outside the Regular army. Their attitude has been reflected eagerly in the press by Hanson W. Baldwin. Yet the whole experience of our training in both World Wars points in the opposite direction.

REPLACEMENT CENTRES

The essence of this experience is to be found in the Infantry Replacement Centres which began coming into existence in 1941. These were practically a new creation—a thing quite outside the traditional practice of the Regular Army. Like the training camps proposed by General Wood in 1916, they put into play a highly intensive scheme of instruction; the whole time was effectively spent in training. This included formal drill of the traditional type —which is, in fact, a necessity on purely practical grounds. The recruit was taught to care properly for the whole range of weapons the modern foot-soldier has to deal with, and to handle them properly in the field. By and large, the aim in view was to prepare the draftee in every possible way for handling himself most effectively in the test of action.

The individual recruit of 1941 had to learn more, and to go through a far more thorough course of instruction than did the young Commissioned officer of the Civil War. From later experience, none of them ever found that they had had to learn too much. Nothing short of this could be accepted for the training to be offered civilians in any future scheme of universal training. If it is a question of building up a real "trained re-

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serve," there can be no excuse or justification for accepting a lower standard.

This crowded schedule of instruction could not be managed by any device of "mass training." On the contrary, it was a closely personal type of teaching; having to start his new recruits from scratch, a single Sergeant-instructor could take charge of no more than 10 or a dozen men. As the field tactics developed into cross-country exercises covering five miles or more of broken ground, only an active and vigorous type of man could swing the task of instructor. As time went on, and the number of training Centres increased, the required number of instructors could be found only by selecting them from the graduates of the Centres: i.e., by taking drafted men who had shown themselves apt pupils, who had the knack of teaching, and who could handle men.

Who will make up this cadre of Sergeant-instructors today? In time of war the right types of men were brought into service by the operation of the draft; and on this same footing, they could be assigned to this particular duty—and held to it. What inducement is there for such men to volunteer for such a type of duty in peace-time? It is in every way a hard, exacting and wearing life, and even higher pay will hardly make it acceptable as a career in itself. On the other hand, it cannot normally lead to promotion to Commissioned rank: the number of instructors required is far too great.

Some indication of the problem involved is offered by the Army's present difficulty in training the volunteer recruits sent out for duty with the Forces of Occupation. By all reports, practically none of these men have received training comparable in any way to the full training provided by the Replacement Centres during the war. By all reports, also, this gap is not filled later on. The routine of Occupation duties seems to leave no time for any thorough schedule of field training or maneuvres. By a curious paradox, we have today an army of "professional soldiers" (with a good deal of time on their hands) far less well-trained than the divisions of drafted civilians formed under such extreme pressure during the war.

To put it bluntly, if from the mere burden of its present numbers the peace-time Army cannot train itself, how is it going to shoulder the additional burden of properly training its share of the 850,000 civilians year by year under the proposed system of universal training? The Navy will have to face a similar problem. The task of training its quota of the 850,000 will imply a far-reaching change in its peace-time organization; nothing in the past history of the Navy offers a precedent.

Whether a universal training law will be enacted in the foreseeable future is an open question. Any programme actually taken up will have to have a substantial standard of training. Merely to go through the motions, and keep men in uniform for six months without any effective result, would mean that the whole enterprise would collapse upon itself within a single year.

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What Unicameral did for Nebraska

White Spot of the Nation

By Milton Guss

TEN years ago the Nebraska Legislature underwent a unique experiment in state government. The citizens of Nebraska, at the instigation of Senator George W. Norris, voted in favor of the Unicameral or one house legislature. Today Nebraska stands as the only state in the Union with the courage to adopt such a program although other states (Oregon, New York, Ohio, Arizona, Tennessee) have long been toying with such an idea.

The Nebraska Unicameral has now been in operation for 10 years and statesmen and politicians generally agree that it has been an overwhelming success. Advocates of the Unicameral insist that the finances of the state are on a sounder basis than at any time in Nebraska's history. The Cornhusker state is now referred to as the "White Spot of the Nation" because it is the only state in the Union where there is absolutely no type of extra state taxes. Nebraska has no state income tax, no sales tax, no luxury tax, nor any type of hidden, indirect taxation. The new Nebraska constitution prohibits state indebtedness and Nebraska operates on a "pay-as-you-go" system.

While other states have been giving the war veterans handouts and bonuses, or ignoring them completely, Nebraska has worked out a comprehensive plan of assistance whereby the veteran receives the money when he needs it most. It provides for aid in old age and in depression and easy loans for those who really need the cash. Other states were quick to recognize the value of the Nebraska plan for veterans, and copies of this bill are being drawn up in numerous other state legislatures.

These progressive measures are directly attributable to the efficient machinery operating in the state capital. The red tape and bottlenecks have been removed from the outdated Bicameral system. Benjamin Franklin once compared a two house legislature to a two-headed snake enroute to water. The heads tried to go on opposite ends of a twig, which stopped the snake; consequently, the serpent died of thirst. Many two-headed legislatures remaining in the country today are also slowly dying. The progressive citizens and statesmen are clamouring for an amputation—Nebraska style.

Senator Norris had to surmount numerous difficulties before his system was approved. Because the Norris system called for a non-partisan legislature, the politicians of both parties attacked the meas-

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ure. Since the one house legislature would greatly reduce the number of office holders, Norris received little support from the men in office. Less than five per cent of the state senators approved the plan. It was only because of Senator Norris's reputation for integrity and ability that the citizens of Nebraska passed the bill in 1934 by the vote of 286,086 to 193,192. On August 12, 1934, the Beatrice *Sun* said that if the proposal had come from any other source than Senator Norris, it wouldn't even have been considered. The Fremont *Tribune,* Omaha *World Herald,* and the Scotts Bluff *Herald* voiced similar opinions. The Unicameral was finally adopted by the Nebraska Legislature in 1937.

It is difficult to understand the people's reluctance to discard the Bicameral after one studies the origin of the two house legislature. The American governments modeled their Colonial two house legislatures after those of Britain. In England, of course, the House of Lords represented the aristocracy and the House of Commons represented the commoners. This was also the system used by our forefathers in framing our national legislative body. The members of the House of Representatives were elected at large, and the state legislatures selected the senators. The House was to represent the people and the Senate, the states. This plan has since been amended and there is now direct election of senators. Just as the Congress became outmoded, so the state legislatures are becoming obsolete.

As Senator Norris pointed out, the two branches of our various state legislatures are elected by the people of the states from the same class of voters. There is no qualification of wealth or property. Consequently, it is illogical to give the two branches of our state legislatures the same authority to do the same thing where they possess the same qualifications for office, and the work of the two bodies is identical. Our legislative systems provide that the work shall be duplicated, requiring identical action by each house although each branch has the same jurisdiction.

Under the present system, a bill may be introduced in either house, whereupon the measure is referred to one of the standing committees. After a lengthy discussion, the bill is returned to the House. Again there is a debate, and if the bill is passed, it is sent to the Senate. The Senate continues this game of soccer, amends the bill, and kicks it back to the House. In practically all states such deadlocked legislation is turned over to the Conference Committee—the real power of the Bicameral system. Usually, this committee consists of only three men from each branch. Generally, the committee's deliberation is behind closed doors and no roll is taken. Then the bill is returned to the legislature where it must be accepted or refused without amendments. In the Nebraska Bicameral the word of the secret Conference Committee was law. Actually, six men controlled the destiny of the state.

It is a known fact that lobbyists exert a great deal of pressure on members of the state legislatures.

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Big Business, labor, and organizations with axes to grind are continually attempting to influence the legislature. Under the Bicameral, it is necessary to contact only two or three members of the six-man Conference Committee. If, at the opening of the session, the lobbyists are able to swing the election of the Speaker of the House, they will be able to influence and sometimes control the appointment of all standing committees.

Under the Unicameral, Nebraska reduced the number of legislators from 133 to 43. Consequently, salaries were raised and a higher type of individual was found in the Unicameral in the following years. In the first primary election, 283 aspirants ran for nomination. The average was 6.6 persons for each of the 43 districts and members to be elected. In the last six Nebraska elections preceeding the adoption of the one house legislature, the highest average per senatorial district for any election was 4.4, and for all six years was 3.65. In other words, more men, especially qualified men were interested in this new position. Of the first group, at least 15 men, or over one third of the Unicameral in 1937, were college graduates as compared to only 15 per cent during the last session of the Bicameral. As Professor L. E. Aylsworth of the University of Nebraska says, "It appears that the charter members of Nebraska's one house legislature were better equipped in native ability, educational training, legislative experience and general intelligence for the task facing them than those of any past legislature."

The Nebraska Unicameral is, of course, a non-partisan organization. The Republicans and Democrats are traditionally divided according to the stands taken by our people on national issues. The tariff, the United Nations, ship subsidies and dozens of other issues are of national importance and have no place in the state legislatures. Under present conditions, 47 states of the Union elect a member of the legislature for the simple reason that he belongs to the "right" party. Too many citizens mark the straight ticket without even knowing for whom they are voting. Under the Nebraska system, this evil is eliminated.

All of the state legislatures are interested in reducing both expenses and taxes. Salary savings in the Unicameral average about $30,000 a year. To that may be added the savings on incidental expenses such as the hiring of clerks, mileage, printing, supplies and the fact that there are no longer any salaries and expenses for special sessions.

One of the most obvious advantages of adopting a one house legislature is that it simplifies lawmaking. There is only one body involved, just as there is a single judicial organization. Complex machinery hampers efficiency in governmental agencies. In the Unicameral, the public can focus its attention on a single and smaller group. The embarrassing situation of having a Republican Senate and a Democratic House, or vice-versa, is eliminated. The Conference Committee is also eliminated. Fewer regular committees are needed. Friction and rivalry between houses is avoided.

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Senator Norris believed that the strongest point about the Unicameral was the fact that it made the legislature a respons.ble body. The chamber can be more readily observed by the public. And since the Nebraska Unicameral has only 43 seats, it attaches a greater importance to each member.

When bills must be passed through two houses, it is almost impossible to map out a comprehensive program of legislation. Each chamber undoubtedly has its own ideas about the kind of laws the state should have. But, when only a single bill is involved, especially in a small body the size of the Nebraska Unicameral, which can meet in continuous session, the planning is made easier. Moreover, it removes the barrier between the legislature and the governor.

One of the most frequently voiced objections to the adoption of the Unicameral is that it would not be sufficiently deliberative. It is claimed that bills would be hurried without consideration. But Senator Norris showed that the Bicameral results in too much check and balance. Norris complained that for every poor measure defeated by the Bicameral, at least two more good measures are defeated. In times of depression this often results in a lack of action to combat some obvious evils.

The eyes of the nation have been focused upon the Nebraska Unicameral for the past decade. The advocates of the Unicameral rest on Nebraska's record. The experiment has been a success and progressive leaders in many states are clamouring for the Unicameral once again. In 1937 the leaders of 20 states proposed the adoption of the Unicameral and the topic was argued on the floor of the state legislatures and in the private homes of citizens. But only Nebraska had the courage of its convictions and the daring and foresight to carry out the project. Her neighbor states decided upon a policy of watching and waiting.

The Unicameral is now in operation in eight out of nine Canadian provinces, in the Swiss cantons, in Norway and in several countries created since the first World War. Moreover, the Unicameral principle is applied to most of our municipal governments, the executive and judicial branches of our national government and to the management of business corporations.

As E. C. Buehler, expert on state government, points out, the Bicameral system is on the verge of a breakdown. It fails to respond to the social and economic needs of a rapidly changing society. It causes confusion in the passage of legislation, tends to unnecessary delay, prevents the fixing of responsibility and offers an easy mark for big business and corrupt politicians to gain control of the legislatures. In addition, the Bicameral is too cumbersome and expensive. The time has come for a change. It should have taken place 10 years ago when Nebraska first made the move. Now that Senator Norris has proved that the project can succeed, there can be no further excuse for delay.

The credit for the enterprise must go to one of the country's greatest statesmen—the late Senator Norris.

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The senatorial debate on the wool bill reveals our weakness in international trade negotiations

Should American Wool Be Protected in the World Market?

By Morley G. Dilke

WHEN the war ended the most prevalent fear for the economic future of the United States was that many men would be out of work because of the transition from war work to peace work. They would be in competition with the returning veterans as fast as the veterans came upon the labor market.

To off-set this, the administration proposed to bolster buying power by wage increases. The wage increases were substantial—in many instances 15 cents per hour or more —but the wage increases did not come out of profits. They were paid out of higher prices.

During the past year our exports were greater than they have ever been in peacetime, and the difference between the value of the goods we sold in dollars and the goods we bought in dollars was enormous. Most of the nations of Europe and South America are consequently again being faced with a dollar shortage: the same dollar shortage which, in 1929, was partly responsible for the depression and which in 1941 forced Lend-Lease since the western democracies could not pay for the American goods they had to have.

After World War I somewhat the same situation existed. Then, among other methods of increasing dollar exchange, the rubber producing nations, primarily the British and the Dutch, limited the amount of rubber coming on the market and raised the price. This worked for some time but eventually it was ineffective.

The Joint Organization to market wool is a modification of the rubber plan. By it, the British have sold all the wool the Empire produces at just under the American market price, set originally by O.P.A.

As a result, although the United States consumption of wool is greater than it ever was, the United States wool clip is less than it was before the war. At the same time the Commodity Credit Corporation has on hand the greatest back log of wool in the history of the country —460,000,000, about a normal year's clip before the war and about one half more than this year's estimated production.

The Commodity Credit Corporation, as the debate in part shows, is charged with helping maintain farm parity prices. This, in effect means that the government has tried to put the farmer on an equal basis in purchasing power with the manufacturers and their employees.

Of course, while these immense

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stocks are held off the market, they help keep the cost of wool and of everything made with wool high in the American market. At the same time, they help nations which desperately need dollar exchange obtain it. But the whole structure is so shaky that no one knows what will happen to both the world wool market and the American wool market.

To a greater or less extent, this is true of the whole American market. Our prices are high in comparison with world prices. The high prices are in part supported by tariffs, quotas and other methods of keeping the major part of the American market free of goods made outside the United States and, therefore, at lower costs.

The controversy reported below[1] pretty thoroughly covers the viewpoint both of the Senators from the wool-growing states and the Senators who, in general, accept limitation of production, not only of wool but of all goods as the only effective American policy.

The viewpoint of the Senators who are influenced by the State Department belief that we must learn how to trade with Europe is much less clear—partly because the problem is less concrete. Our costs are high. Our prices are high. Our high prices limit what Europe can buy from us. Our tariffs limit what the world can sell to us, and, in the case of wool, about cut the price which the seller gets in half, and, therefore, cut in half the amount of American goods that his wool will buy.

So long as our price structure is the highest in the world and we are the primary source of goods, the world will not be able to pay for the goods it needs. We are thrown back on making loans which can not be repaid or a form of gift which, in the long run, can hardly be justified.

The difficulty of taking a further hurdle and saying just how much more wool should be let in, and why, has so far been too much for economists as well as Senators.

THE WOOL BILL

Mr. Aiken (Republican, Vermont). Mr. President, I should like to review very briefly indeed the events which led up to the conference report on the wool bill which is now before the Senate. As every Senator probably knows, when the war began the sheep growers of the United States were hit very hard. They were hit so hard that the number of sheep began to be reduced materially, and the Commodity Credit Corporation, in order to assure an adequate supply of wool, undertook to sustain the support price for wool, and it did so, at one time maintaining a support price of 118 per cent of parity.

With the ending of the war, however, and with the President's proclamation of last January 1, which ended the support price on June 30 of this year, the sheep growers were left without any support whatsoever for the price of the wool which they are producing.

1 *Congressional Record, Senate,* Vol. 93, No. 115, pp. 7335-7343; No. 116, pp. 7418-7433.

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In the meantime, from the years 1942 to 1947 the number of sheep in this country dropped from 49,000,000 to approximately 32,500,000, and wool production dropped from approximately 455,000,000 pounds in 1942 to an estimated total of 310,000,000 pounds in 1947.

Congress has provided, through the Steagall amendment, for support prices for many other farm commodities, to run until December 31, 1948, but the wool growers were left high and dry, and there is every indication that there is going to be a still further decline in the production of wool below its present low level, unless something is done to maintain a support price which will make it possible for our farmers to produce wool.

There is no question that for national security wool is a most strategic material. Therefore this spring several bills were introduced in the House and the Senate to provide for maintaining a support price for wool for this year's and next year's crop, or so long as the Steagall amendment provides a support price with a floor for other farm commodities.

The Committee on Agriculture and Forestry of the Senate held hearings the last week in March and the first day of April, and reported a bill, which was passed by the Senate.

PURPOSE OF BILLS

Let me say, first, that the purposes of the several bills which have been introduced are two: First, to place a floor under the price of wool which will encourage American sheep growers to continue producing wool, so that we may not become wholly dependent on a source of supply thousands of miles away. The other purpose is to authorize the Commodity Credit Corporation to dispose of an accumulation of approximately 460,000,000 pounds of wool at a price which the market will pay. Much of this wool is of lower grade, and will not bring the full market price anyway. The Commodity Credit Corporation has been prohibited from disposing of this wool at any price less than parity, and as the market price for the wool was less than parity it has been unable to dispose of it as rapidly as seemed advisable. So the bill which was considered by the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry last March carried these two provisions.

At the time hearings were held representatives of the Department of Agriculture appeared before the committee. They approved the bill. They said that it would be necessary to maintain a support price for wool if we were to continue to produce wool. They also wanted authority to dispose of the accumulation of 460 000,000 pounds of wool which they held at that time at the market price. However, they suggested that, if they started selling that wool at the market price, foreign competition might drop the price just below it, and soon there would be a price war, with a demoralized wool market for everyone. Therefore the Department of Agriculture suggested that some safeguard be placed in the bill authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture either to establish quotas or impose additional fees on wool which otherwise might be imported in such amount and at such prices as would completely demoralize the domestic market and prevent the Commodity Credit Corporation from disposing of the wool which it had on hand.

Members of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry realized that we could not comply with the suggestion of the Department of Agriculture to provide for the imposition

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of higher fees on imported wool in the event that the domestic market appeared to be destroyed or that it was impossible to maintain a price support program, because the imposition of fees would naturally affect the revenues of the Government, and such legislation must originate in the House. Therefore when we reported the bill to the Senate we recommended that the House in its consideration of the bill adopt such an amendment as would permit the Government to impose fees or quotas if necessary.

I wish to say in all fairness that the State Department did not appear before the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry to testify on this bill. The State Department has since indicated its disapproval of the amendment which the House adopted, but at the time the Senate committee made the recommendation it was not aware of the opposition of the State Department.

The bill came back to the Senate, and conferees were appointed. The conferees of the House and Senate held several meetings. The House was adamant in insisting upon retaining the provision which the House had placed in the bill, which provided that the President could impose fees or quotas on imports of wool. We held a number of meetings, but got nowhere. As for myself, I would have been perfectly willing to have brought the bill back to the Senate without the House amendment, but the House conferees were anything but willing. In fact, they said they could not possibly get a bill through the House without that amendment.

So in order to get the bill before the Senate for as prompt action as possible so that we might determine just what we were going to do and whether we were to support the price of wool or not, the Senate conferees agreed to the House amendment, with an amendment qualifying it, and brought it back to the Senate, and it is now before us for action.

* * *

Let me say that the House amendment originally provided for the imposition of fees only. The amendment which was adopted in conference provides that the President may impose either fees or quotas.

Mr. Russell (Democrat, Georgia). Mr. President, is there anything in the bill which makes it mandatory on the President to impose either fees or quotas? Is there any standard fixed in the bill which requires him, in view of certain conditions, to impose fees or quotas? Or is it wholly discretionary with the President as to whether he shall or shall not impose them?

Mr. Aiken. As I interpret the amendment, it is discretionary with the President. What the amendment does is to apply to wool the provisions of section 22 of the Agricultural Adjustment Act. The Senator from Georgia probably knows that section 22 already covers 20 or more agricultural commodities.

Mr. Saltonstall (Republican, Massachusetts). The Senator from Vermont has answered the question of the Senator from Georgia, if I correctly understood him to the effect that there is nothing compulsory upon the President to issue such an order. I interpret the section quite differently from the way the Senator from Vermont interprets it. The words are that if certain facts appear on the surface the President shall—

cause an immediate investigation to be made by the United States Tariff Commission, which shall give precedence to investigations under this section to determine such facts.

Then—

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If on the basis of such investigation and report to him of findings and recommendations made in connection therewith, the President finds the existence of such facts, he shall by proclamation impose such fees—

And so forth. It seems to me that the language is certainly open to the interpretation that if the Tariff Commission determines as a result of an investigation that certain facts exist the President must impose fees or limitations.

Mr. Aiken. I understand that different interpretations are being placed upon section 22 and the proposed amendment which has been agreed to by the conferees. However, it seems to me that it is optional with the President, because the Tariff Commission cannot take any action until instructed by the President. I might add that this provision has been taken advantage of twice, once in the case of wheat and once in the case of cotton. Nevertheless, recently there has been a surplus of potatoes in this country while potatoes were being imported from Canada, and the President has taken no action to prevent the importation of four or five million bushels of potatoes. If the President did not feel called upon in the case of potatoes, I know of nothing which would compel him to take action in the case of wool unless he so desired.

First of all, any action must be initiated by the President. No one else can start any action to impose either fees or quotas. If the President finds that the domestic market is being demoralized, that it is impossible to maintain a support price program because of unusually heavy receipts into this country, he may direct the Tariff Commission to make an investigation. If the Tariff Commission should find that, in fact, our domestic market was being demoralized, then the President might, for such time as he saw fit, impose fees or quotas. He may impose fees up to the amount of 50 per cent of the tariff, but he is not required to do that. He may impose a fee of one per cent, or two per cent, or whatever he sees fit, up to five per cent.

But what I want to make clear is that any action must start with the President.

Mr. Young (Republican, North Dakota). The Senator from Vermont brought out one point which I wish to emphasize; namely, the provision adopted by the House that import fees may be imposed in order to prevent dumping by foreign markets. Of course the State Department and the President could, if they wanted to, raise import fees sufficiently high so that there would be no costs. That is another thing that is disconcerting to the wool growers and to farmers in general —the cry against subsidies which are necessary to support farm prices. The President could, if he would, go to the extent of raising the import fees high enough so that no support price program would be necessary at all.

Mr. Aiken. I thank the Senator from North Dakota.

I want to say that there is no indication that the President would ever be called upon to impose either fees or quotas during the next 18 months. For that reason I felt that the amendment was unnecessary. But the House felt otherwise. I do not see how there can come the harm from this amendment which some of its critics claim will come from it. I realize that it has stirred up a furor around the world and that some countries, particularly wool-growing countries, have been given the idea that we are starting something which is eventually going

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to shut them out of our market. That would not be the case, because we are dependent on them already for 60 per cent of the wool which we use in this country. We have got to have that much from them anyway.

* * *

But with the market as it is today, which is a rising market, it occurs to me that if the Commodity Credit Corporation would dispose of the wool it has on hand there would be very little, if any, loss to the Government, and no harm whatsoever to the growers in foreign countries.

MARKET

Mr. Saltonstall. I should like to ask the Senator from Vermont a question. When the bill passed the Senate it contained a provision in section 5 that disposition of any accumulated stocks should not be so made as to disrupt the domestic market. That provision was stricken out, and section 5 now reads as follows:

The Commodity Credit Corporation may, until December 31, 1948, dispose of wool owned by it without regard to any restriction imposed upon it by law.

My question is: May that not lead to disruption of the market? Was not the Senate provision a much better provision?

Mr. Aiken. That is an amendment which was put in by the House and which was agreed to by the Senate conferees because we were sure that the Commodity Credit Corporation itself would not deliberately market the wool in such a way as to disrupt the market. Either the Senate or House provision is entirely acceptable to me. I think that either one assures adequate protection; but I think that without either provision the Commodity Credit Corporation still would not market the wool in such a manner as to disrupt the market. They wanted some language put in so that no one could say that they had been told to sell it all at once.

Mr. Hatch (Democrat, New Mexico). I merely want to ask the Senator a question to clarify the situation somewhat. I think his explanation has been very clear, but I am not sure that it is understood, as, for instance, with reference to the life of this measure. When will it expire? I understand that the support price provision will end December 31, 1948.

Mr. Aiken. The support price provision will end December 31, 1948. The Senate provided that the support price would be maintained for the 1947 and 1948 clip. The House amended that to provide that all payments must be made before December 31, 1948. Under the Senate version it might have been carried over a year or two and the Government would still be liable for support prices. I think the House provision is better.

Mr. Hatch. Is it the thought of the Senator from Vermont, who has given a great deal of study to this subject, that by this bill there is being established any permanent policy, or is it to meet the situation as presently existing?

Mr. Aiken. I think the Senator has the correct idea, that it is regarded as an emergency measure to give the wool growers the same protection that the producers of many other agricultural commodities enjoy under the Steagall amendment until December 31, 1948.

Mr. Hatch. Does the Senator from Vermont entertain the thought that this measure constitutes an arbitrary, mandatory rise in the wool tariff?

Mr. Aiken. Absolutely not. In

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fact, I do not expect that the President will even consider raising the fees or imposing quotas, because the wool market is growing stronger month by month. I have hopes that the Commodity Credit Corporation can dispose of the 460 000,000 pounds they have without any loss whatsoever to the Government. But that is not very likely, because the accumulation has been picked over and the better grades have been used, so that most of the poorer grades still remain.

Mr. Hatch. I recognize the Senator's deep interest in international affairs as well as in domestic affairs. Does the Senator see anything in this bill which will complicate any of our international relations?

Mr. Aiken. I do not see anything in it, as it is, that should complicate international relations. The only thing that might complicate international relations is that it could be interpreted, if people were so minded, as indicating a trend toward economic isolationism on the part of the United States. But that is a state of mind.

If the President vetoes it, the chances are that there will be no support price for wool in the United States for the next two years. I understand that right now speculators are offering the small western growers 28 cents a pound for their wool, or 10 cents a pound below the world market price. As I understand the situation, they are trying to take advantage of the small producers who have notes due and must have some money in any event.

But if there is any doubt in the President's mind and in the minds of those in the State Department, I believe the President can sign this measure and at the same time issue a reassuring statement that should clarify the international atmosphere.

Mr. Hatch. Mr. President, from what the Senator has just said and also from his experience in the conference with the House conferees, is he completely convinced that the adoption of this conference report and its subsequent enactment into law constitute the only method by which the wool growers of the United States may have any kind of price support program in the future?

Mr. Aiken. I am afraid the Senator is correct. I did think the House would be willing to pass a straight support price bill. I have serious doubts of that now. In fact, I am inclined to think that if this measure fails of enactment, that will be the end of the wool support price program. I am sorry to have to come to that conclusion, but I do.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Mr. Robertson (Democrat, Virginia). The Senator has just spoken of a reassuring statement that he could give the President and the State Department. I have just talked to Mr. Clayton about this measure. There is no statement that we could give him about these House amendments that would reassure him. He said that the nations with whom he is dealing at Geneva regard this proposed step as a high-tariff, isolationist move, and it is not in keeping with the quota provisions that we have previously applied to farm products of which we produce a surplus. He said that last year we produced 300,000,000 pounds of wool, and consumed a billion pounds, and that normally we import twice as much wool as we produce, and therefore on the basis of the quota provisions of the House amendments we would be going beyond any quota plan under the Agricultural Adjust-

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ment Act to support the wool price through the Commodity Credit Corporation, by limiting exports that come into competition with a product which is already in excess supply.

As to the other provision, Mr. Clayton said that while it may be discretionary with the President, nevertheless the nations with whom he is dealing at Geneva take the same attitude that the average newspaper and average person in the United States take, namely, that this is a move in the direction of a higher tariff on a principal commodity of a friendly nation on which in normal times the tariff is equivalent to 100-per cent protection, and on which, on the basis of prices last year, which were abnormally high, the tariff was equivalent to a protection of 63 per cent.

Mr. President, with all due deference to our distinguished conferees, it appears to me that we are inviting a veto of a measure that is very necessary on behalf of our wool producers, because, on account of the large supply of wool in the hands of the Government, the prospects are that the price of wool will go down in 1948 below 90 per cent of parity.

I was happy to join with my distinguished colleague, the Senator from Wyoming, in a program to list wool as a basic farm crop and to give the wool growers the protection of 90 per cent of parity. So far as I know, that is all that the wool growers have requested. That is all that the Virginia wool growers have requested. They would have been happy to get that. They still want it.

If we put this provision into effect, I am satisfied that the State Department will ask the President to veto the bill; and if he does, there will be no likelihood that the Congress will pass the bill over the President's veto, inasmuch as it was adopted by the House by only a very small majority, and certainly there will not be an overwhelming majority in favor of it in the Senate. That will mean that no measure on this subject will be enacted into law, and in that case we shall find that in reaching for a hypothetical advantage in the future, we shall have ost the loaf we want now for the protection of next year's prices.

So, Mr. President, why would not it be logical for us to insist on the bill as passed by the Senate, and reject the conference report, and let it go back to the House of Representatives? In that case, the first vote in the House would be on the question of having the House recede from its position and concur in the position of the Senate. If the House of Representatives should concur in the position of the Senate, the bill then would go to the President as the Senate passed it. If that was not done, the next step in the House of Representatives would be for the House to vote on the question of insisting on its amendments and requesting a further conference.

In any event, we would still have the bill before us, and there would be a chance to enact something on the subject into law.

Mr. Aiken. Mr. President, I say to the Senator from Virginia that I did not mean to infer that this body should issue any reassuring statement. I meant that when the President signs the bill, he can issue a reassuring statement—to the whole world, if he wishes to do so—to the effect that he sees no possibility of having to apply it.

Mr. Robertson. But my colleague will understand that the traders of other nations know what English means, and they will know that the first move in connection with this

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bill was for a mandatory tariff increase.

Mr. Aiken. That is correct.

Mr. Robertson. Very well. Now we back off and provide for a permissive tariff increase. However, no explanation, in view of the origin of the movement, would satisfy them and reassure them that down in our hearts we do not intend, later on, to creep up on them and keep their wool out of our markets or else make them pay through the nose in order to sell their wool in our markets.

O.P.A. PRICES

Mr. O'Mahoney (Democrat, Wyoming). There is another factor, however, which has been completely overlooked in this matter. The O.P.A. has ceased to exist. O.P.A. ceiling prices have been removed from every single commodity. But the bill provides that wool shall be supported at the O.P.A. ceiling price established during the war. So what we are saying in this measure is merely that the Government of the United States shall come to the aid of the domestic wool producers by guaranteeing to them the old O.P.A. ceiling price, although O.P.A. ceilings have been eliminated with respect to every other product.

With respect to the international phase of the matter, I should like to call attention to the fact that the wool which comes into the United States from abroad is sold here by a state monopoly, the British Joint Organization. All that is sought to be done now is to protect the domestic producers against any injurious effect upon domestic prices of a large dumping by the foreign state selling agency.

Mr. President, I cannot refrain from adding, with the permission of the Senator from Vermont, that in my opinion this section 22 amendment was introduced into the bill for the express purpose of trying to kill the bill, and to put the President upon a political spot. There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that this suggestion came from those who have opposed the wool-support program from the very outset.

Of course when it would seem that the State Department was fearful that it would interfere with the Geneva program, then it was perfectly obvious to the political opponents of the President that a golden opportunity was provided to put him on the spot, and although every effort has been made by the Senate conferees to get this paragraph out—because none of the wool growers have asked for it, no wool-growing organization in the country has asked for it—although the conferees made every effort to get it removed, it was not removed.

Mr. Wherry (Republican, Nebraska). I should like to ask how the Wool Growers' Association feels about the conference report as submitted.

Mr. O'Mahoney. Of course, we would like to have it agreed to, because we know that if the bill is not approved, there will be no possibility of sustaining wool prices, and our domestic producers of wool will be laid open to the competition of the foreign state monopoly.

Mr. Barkley. I should like to ask the Senator from Wyoming whether it is his understanding that those who want to put the President in a political hole, or on the spot, are willing to jeopardize the entire wool-support program in order to do it?

Mr. O'Mahoney. I most certainly think they are.

Mr. Robertson. Does the Senator

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from Wyoming concur in the position taken by the Senator from Virginia, that the logical thing for us to do now is to insist upon the Senate bill and let it go back to the House, with the hope that the House will recede and concur in the Senate bill?

Mr. O'Mahoney. Mr. President, I am sure the Senator may feel that that would be the logical thing to do, but I know from what has already transpired that there is no possibility of the House receding. So I think it would be just wasted effort. The Senator from Vermont will be much better able to answer the Senator than I, because I did not participate in the conference.

Mr. Robertson. If the effort fails, the responsibility will be on the House for a situation under which the wool growers of the Nation would get no protection at all in prices next year.

Mr. Young. As one of the conferees on the bill, I should like to say that I think it was the feeling of most of the Senate conferees—it was my feeling personally—that we favored import fees and quotas, but that we were reluctant to accept these provisions only because they might invite a Presidential veto and thereby postpone enactment of necessary wool-support prices.

EMBARRASS PRESIDENT

Mr. Aiken. Mr. President, the Senator from Wyoming made the suggestion that there are those who would like to kill the wool-support program, and with that assertion I heartily agree; and that there are those who would like to put the President on the spot, and I can hardly disagree with that statement. It seems to me that possibly both objectives may be accomplished by the bill if we do not watch out. But my objective is to provide a support program for the wool producers of the United States, and I hope that will be done through the bill we are considering. I am not particularly interested in who is to blame for its failure, if it shall fail.

While there may be those in Congress who would like to kill a wool support-price program and embarrass the President, yet I am sure the Department of Agriculture, which originally suggested the amendment, had no desire either to kill the program or to embarrass the President. But it appears that there has developed a decided difference of opinion between Mr. Clayton, of the State Department, and the Department of Agriculture.

Finally, I received a letter, which I will place in the *Record,* signed by Mr. Dodd, of the Department of Agriculture, under date of June 10, stating how the Department would like to have it amended. But it was someone from the State Department who called me and said the letter was on the way, and it had been cleared with the Bureau of the Budget. So evidently the Budget Bureau and the State Department and the Department of Agriculture finally got together. But it looks as if, on paper, the Department of Agriculture lost.

Mr. Saltonstall. I should like to ask the Senator a question, and, if I may, I desire to make a very brief preliminary statement? First, I am not interested in embarrassing the President, but I do want to have a support price for the American wool growers. I am also very much interested in the consumers of wool and in the textile mills and in the people who work in them, in Massachusetts and New England.

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I should like to ask this question: While the President, under the terms of the conference report, cannot by proclamation violate any present treaty, he is not prevented, is he, from putting any quota he may desire on wool which may in the future come into the country after the bill is passed?

Mr. Aiken. He can only do it if he is so minded and can prove to the Tariff Commission that importations are interfering with the support-price program.

Mr. Saltonstall. I should like to ask a further question. The Senator from Ohio said that wool was by the impending bill placed within the terms of the Agricultural Adjustment Act. Is it not true that wool is the only commodity which will be within that act which we do not produce in sufficient quantity to meet our domestic needs?

Mr. Aiken. No; I am not sure that is true. Section 22 covers at least 22 farm commodities, including noodle soup. I have often wondered on what kind of bush noodle soup grew; but it is in the list. But wool never has been included. However, when we maintain a support price for wool, and a foreign country persists in selling wool for a cent a pound under the market, so we are kept out of our own market, then we accumulate a surplus, and wool becomes a surplus on our Government's hands, just as does cotton or corn or oats.

Mr. Saltonstall. But under the terms of the bill as passed by the Senate, and also under the terms of the conference report omitting certain provisions, there is an opportunity for the Commodity Credit Corporation, if it so desires, to sell the wool at a price which will enable it to compete on the market.

Mr. Aiken. That is correct. With the rising market, I believe grease wool is about 10 cents a pound higher on the world market now than it was a year ago. With a rising market, I believe the Commodity Credit Corporation will be able to dispose of the 460,000,000 pounds they have on hand, and maintain the floor under the present clip, so that much of it will be sold directly to the users, without losing money. I would not have said that a year ago, but the wool market is strengthened, as the Senator knows.

—Herblock in *The Washington Post.*

"MARY HAD A LITTLE LAMB"

Mr. Saltonstall. So that there is no real need for the provision regarding quotas or increased fees, is there?

Mr. Aiken. I should have preferred to see the bill enacted without that provision in it.

Mr. Saltonstall. But with the provision regarding particular quotas, as well as increased fees, there

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will be a disruption of free contract, and it will not be possible for a purchaser of wool in a foreign country—and there are 20 such foreign wool-producing countries — to make a firm contract. Is not that correct?

Mr. Aiken. Oh, I doubt that.

Mr. Saltonstall. If the President can impose a tariff, or a quota, at any time in the future, in the case of countries which are far away, so that contracts run two, three, or four months ahead, what would keep a contract a firm contract?

Mr. Aiken. It is a coincidence that the support price for wool is to continue just so long as the term of office of the present incumbent of the White House. It seems to me that foreign countries and buyers would have sufficient confidence in his doing what he ought to do, and not disrupting the market for the world, so that the market would not be disrupted. As a matter of fact, the Senator from Massachusetts knows our buyers cannot go into Australia and New Zealand and buy at any price. If an offer is made at a price that is too low, then the British Empire says, "We will take that wool. You can buy as much wool, within the empire floor, the J.O. floor, as you see fit, but you cannot go there and bid less than that floor."

Mr. Saltonstall. Assuming that a textile mill is making a certain grade of cloth from a certain grade of wool, and that a quota is ordered, so that the contract being performed by the textile mill is affected, but with the need of further raw wool in order to finish the contract; what will happen to the remainder of the contract if the President puts into effect a quota?

Mr. Aiken. The same thing that would happen if a quota were imposed under provisions of a trade-agreement act.

Mr. Saltonstall. Assuming that to be true, and assuming that that will let the seller out of the contract, we will say, then the grade of cloth the mill can produce will deteriorate, will it not?

Mr. Aiken. I do not know about the textile business, but, before I conclude, I was going to read some other provisions of international agreements, which have already been agreed to by the nations. That constitutes just as serious a factor for the manufacturer as what is being proposed here, by including wool under section 22 of the A.A.A. Act.

Mr. Saltonstall. Will it not be true that every textile mill in the country which makes woolen goods will be uncertain as to its future supply of wool of certain grades and qualities which it may wish to import from other countries, and also uncertain of the prices at which it can sell?

Mr. Aiken. I understand there is a considerable degree of uncertainty in the textile business, but I do not think there will be such a great uncertainty on the part of our textile manufacturers under any provisions of the bill as there would be if we let our wool production in this country get down so low that we will be at the mercy of the British Empire for our wool supply. Maybe the uncertainty would be removed. Maybe the textile manufacturers would know that they would have to pay 60 cents a pound for wool then. But the stock pile we have, the accumulation of 460,000,000 pounds, undoubtedly has helped to keep down the price of foreign wool to our textile mills.

Mr. Saltonstall. If a quota is established—and I want to reassert that there is no wish in my mind not to give some support price to the American wool growers—if a

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quota is established, licenses to import will have to be issued, will they not?

Mr. Aiken. I do not know how a quota would be handled. It would be very difficult.

Mr. Saltonstall. The Senator from Vermont says it would be very difficult to establish and apply quotas. If quotas were established and I received a license or were given the opportunity to import, and the Senator from Vermont did not, and he was a competitor of mine, would not that be grossly unfair to the Senator from Vermont?

Mr. Aiken. I do not know how quotas would be imposed. I do not know just how quotas are imposed at the present time. But at present we permit Canada to ship into the United States so much livestock, so much beef, so many thousand gallons of cream a year. We have quotas on imports from Mexico also, or anyhow we did have. I do not know how they are handled. But I assume that a quota on wool would have to be handled in a manner similar to the way quotas on other imports from other countries are handled.

Mr. Saltonstall. Assume a quota was established, and I became a licensee, and the Senator from Vermont was not able to become a licensee for importation, then my license would become a thing of value in and of itself, would it not, in opposition to the competition of the Senator from Vermont?

Mr. Aiken. I should think so. However, I do not anticipate it will be necessary to impose quotas this year or next year. I do not anticipate that it will be necessary to impose increased tariff protection this year or next year. For that reason I do not think the amendment was necessary in order to protect the wool grower. But I do think it is necessary now to pass the bill and send it to the President. If we do not, we will be taking a chance of there being no floor for wool at all.

Mr. Saltonstall. If we do not establish quotas, as the Senator has just said, it may become necessary to establish increased fees or tariffs, and if we establish increased fees or tariffs then that will result in making the price uncertain. In other words, we either make uncertain the quantity that a manufacturer may have to use, or we make uncertain the price at which he can buy the increased quantity.

Mr. Aiken. Neither fees nor tariffs can be imposed until the market has been demoralized in this country.

WOOL PRODUCTION

Mr. Robertson. I was most interested in what the distinguished Senator from Virginia had to say with regard to his conversation with Mr. Clayton. As I took it down he stated that Mr. Clayton said, "Normally we import twice as much wool as we produce." I wonder if the Senator understood Mr. Clayton correctly, because if Mr. Clayton did say that, it is entirely erroneous. By "normally" I take it he meant in prewar years. In prewar years our domestic production of wool was from 400,000,000 to 450,000,000 pounds, and our consumption was from 600,000,000 to 650,000,000 pounds, which means that we would have had to import approximately 200,000,000 pounds. Since 1943 we have been importing anywhere from 700,000,000 to 800,000,000 pounds, up to 1,000,000,000 pounds. Last year our importations were around 800,000,000 pounds.

While on this point it might interest the Senate to know that during the years 1943, 1944, 1945, and

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1946 the total duties collected by the United States on all dutiable imports amounted to $1,609,501,000. Of that amount, $505,200,000 represented the duties collected on imported wool. In other words, the wool duties amount to more than 31 per cent of the total duties collected on all dutiable goods.

Mr. Aiken. Mr. President, I do not believe it is necessary to go into any further explanation of the conference report. I simply reiterate that I believe that the effect of this amendment on the bill has been exaggerated, both by its proponents and its opponents. It has received a build-up out of proportion to its importance. I do not believe that it was necessary to tack it on to a price-support bill for wool. If there had been any way of getting out of it, I would not have accepted it.

WORLD TRADE

Neither do I believe that it will disrupt world trade, because if it does disrupt world trade, it will be through the acts of the President of the United States; and I do not believe that he has any intention of disrupting world trade and preventing the making of further reciprocal trade agreements. I feel that the importance of the amendment has been exaggerated.

Mr. Hatch. I feel, as the Senator from Vermont has so well pointed out, that we must either adopt the conference report or we shall have no program at all this year. I am utterly convinced that it would serve no useful purpose to send the measure back to conference. If the conference report is defeated we shall have no support program. The only chance we have for a support program—and it is a support program in which the wool growers are interested, and not a tariff provision—we have no choice except to adopt the conference report. For that reason I shall support the conference report.

In line with what I have said about the power being discretionary and not mandatory, I requested the Solicitor of the Department of Agriculture to give me his written opinion on that question. I have his letter before me. He confirms everything I have said, and what the Senator from Vermont has said.

THE CONSUMER

Mr. Saltonstall. Mr. President, I hope that a wool support bill will be passed, but not this one, or this one in its present form. I believe that we can pass a wool support bill without the uncertain provisions as to quotas and fees on imports and consequently the uncertainty of prices.

As a representative from New England, and particularly from Massachusetts, which has approximately 60 per cent or more of the wool trade, and has a very substantial percentage of the textile mills of the country which use wool as a raw product, I believe that the bill in its present form, with quotas and possible changes in price levels, is a very unwise bill to pass.

We have heard a great deal about the wool grower. We all want American wool growers to continue to produce wool. However, we have heard nothing about the consumer of wool products. We must remember that in establishing higher tariffs and imposing quotas, if either of those alternatives is put into effect the consumer of woolen goods, the man who wears a suit as you and I do, Mr. President, will have to pay higher prices. Every person in this country who wears a woolen suit will inevitably have to pay higher prices for his clothes if the bill goes through in its present form, allowing

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restrictions on imports or higher fees on imports. We must remember that.

At the present time we produce approximately half of all the wool we use in an ordinary year. If my memory is correct, we produce between 300,000,000 and 400,000,000 pounds in an ordinary peacetime year. We use between six hundred and seven hundred million pounds. In the past few years we have been using almost 1,000,000,000 pounds of wool a year.

The bill in the form in which it passed this body, and also as reported to the House, contained a provision allowing the Commodity Credit Corporation to sell its inventory of raw wool on the market at a loss if necessary. That provision permits the Commodity Credit Corporation to compete with the foreign wool market. The reason there has been so much wool coming in from abroad is that the Commodity Credit Corporation inventory is held at a price above the level at which wool can come in from foreign countries. So while the Commodity Credit Corporation has been accumulating about 460 000,000 pounds of wool in warehouses, wool has been coming in from abroad underneath the price of the Commodity Credit Corporation wool, even with the tariff, and is being sold. The cloth which goes into our clothes has been coming in from abroad to a very considerable extent.

I should like to point out, as I tried to do in my questions addressed to the Senator from Vermont, that if we establish quotas we must devise some form of license. The licensee has a tremendous advantage over his competitor. If we do not establish quotas, we shall have uncertain prices. Wool comes from Africa and Australia. If an American is to make a contract for wool in Australia, he must make it three or four months in advance of the time when he wishes to use the wool. In the meantime, the President may perfectly properly, under the terms of the bill, impose a quota or impose a higher tariff fee. What happens? The man in this country who has bought the wool either cannot get the wool which he may have contracted to sell, or else he gets it at a higher price, and he must stand the loss. The wool broker, the man who buys wool and resells it, is an independent agent. He will not be able to do business.

It is said that we want to protect the producer. We do; but we also want to remember the consumer. We also must remember that we grow only about half the wool we use. If we grow only half the wool we use, we must import wool. If no one in this country can make a firm contract, he is not going to bring in wool from abroad, and we are not going to have the raw fabric with which to make our fabrics and textiles.

I hope that this bill will not pass in its present form. I believe that in the long run it is not for the best interests of all the consumers of woolen goods, and it is not for the best interests of the wool grower, because it establishes a very artificial market of which the grower is just as uncertain as is anyone else.

Because I know that not only I but many other Senators on both sides of the aisle feel very strongly about it, I should like to point out, Mr. President, that if this bill becomes law, for the next two years, as in the past four years, the Government will be the sole buyer of domestic wool. It is in the wool business, purely and simply, in competition with all the foreign wool

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which comes in through private hands. We want to get the Government out of business. We want to support a wool program for the grower, but we want to support it in such a way that the grower can live in competition with wool which comes in from abroad.

I hope, Mr. President, that this bill will be either recommitteed to conference or be defeated so that we can start afresh.

As one representative of New England I want to say that I could and would support a reasonable bill in the interests of the domestic wool grower.

Mr. President, I should like now to make a parliamentary inquiry. Do I correctly understand that the conference report can be either accepted or rejected without amendment, or can be recommitted to conference? Those are the only three alternatives with reference to a conference report?

The President pro tempore. The conference report cannot be recommitted, because the House has accepted the report and the conferees have been discharged.

Mr. Saltonstall. So that the only thing that can be done with the conference report is either to vote it up or vote it down?

* * *

FAVORITISM

Mr. Williams (Republican, Delaware). Mr. President, when the pending bill was initially before the Senate for consideration, I voted against its passage. I intend to vote against the adoption of the conference report today, not because of what was added to the bill in conference, but because I think it an unsound piece of legislation. When we pass the pending bill we are establishing a precedent of supporting an agricultural commodity at a price far in excess of parity. This is the first bill relating to farmers that has come before the Eightieth Congress. In it there has been selected one section or group of American farmers. And we are proposing for the next 18 months to guarantee to that group the highest price they have received for their product during the past 14 years. In other words, we are picking out one favorite group and guaranteeing to it wartime prices in a peacetime economy.

A statement was made a few minutes ago that there are no other agricultural products selling at O.P.A. ceilings. I would dispute that statement because today there are many agricultural products which the eastern farmers are selling considerably below the former O.P.A. ceiling, and which they have been selling below that ceiling for some time. It is nothing unusual to establish price ceilings in wartime, but the farmers do not expect and Congress has no right to establish wartime prices in a peacetime economy. We have heard a great deal of discussion recently both by the President of the United States and by members of this body regarding the high cost of living, and yet, at the same time, we find that while the Government, through one agency, is buying potatoes and dumping them on this side of the border, through another agency potatoes are being imported from our neighbor on the North. The same thing is being done, with respect to wool.

The 1946 report on agricultural statistics shows that this country is normally an importer of wool since we actually produce less wool than we consume. The whole price struc-

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ture can be worked out on an equitable basis through the tariffs. It is ridiculous that we should today establish the price of any commodity at wartime levels and then complain about the high cost of living, yet that is exactly what we are doing. Many mills in our country are operating entirely on imported wool because the foreign countries are selling their wool in the American market at just a shade under the price which we are endeavoring to maintain. I think we should be rendering maximum service to the farmers, the laboring man, and to the man who has retired from active employment if, instead of calling upon them to pay still higher prices, we should endeavor to check the inflationary rise in the cost of living. Mr. President, I shall continue to vote against such a program as that here proposed.

I ask to have included in the *Record* a table which shows the production of wool in the United States, since 1936. It also shows the consumption of wool within the United States during the same period. I call attention to the fact that the price ranged from 19 cents to 42 cents. We are today proposing to stabilize the price at the highest price on record which is near 42 cents.

Mr. Brewster (Republican, Maine). These figures show that while we produced 10 000,000 bales of cotton under the import quotas established by Mr. Clayton, who inveighs against import quotas, not more than 300,000 bales of cotton of any character, outside certain items which are very little used in this country, can be imported. I suggest that what is sauce for cotton is sauce for wool, if I may use a somewhat mixed metaphor, and that if it is all right to protect the American cotton industry by import quotas on cotton, I am quite sure that the trade program of the world will not collapse if the poor little sheep of the West or the poor little woolen industry of New England is accorded a similar assistance. What is good for one is certainly good for the other.

Mr. Tydings (Democrat, Maryland). We must not lose sight of the fact that in this country we have only about six per cent of the earth's population; but we have a much larger percentage of the world's income. It has been estimated that the United States has approximately 30 per cent of the total world income. So here we are, a people numbering six or seven per cent of the population of the earth, with 30 per cent, or nearly a third, of the total income of the entire earth. We are rich, happy, and prosperous almost beyond human imagination, in comparison with many other countries.

One must actually see at first hand the conditions which prevail in the world faintly to appreciate them. Last year I had the good fortune to go around the world and visit many of the countries of the earth and see at first-hand the dire conditions which exist.

We can talk in generalities all we please about how we must rehabilitate and safeguard civilization, how we must place a substantial floor under it so that we can build upon that floor, how we must have a world at peace and must have security at home. We can talk about disarmament abroad and at home so that the United Nations may perform the task for which it was created. But all of that is only so much Fourth of July oratory unless we couple with it another premise of procedure. There must be some

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division of the world's work if world prosperity and a sound economy are to come to the peoples of stricken lands. We can own all the ships on earth which carry commerce on the seven seas; we can own all the airplanes in the world which fly commerce in the air; we can perform all the banking business; we can perform all the insurance business of the world; we can raise more food than any other country on the globe—but after all is said and done, unless the other fellow can do something also, he cannot buy what we have to offer; and if he cannot buy what we have to offer, our own prosperity is adversely affected.

We must find some way, without adopting the repugnant tenets of communism in international affairs, to allow production to be grouped into natural places. A country which can best produce beans ought to be given an opportunity to produce beans for the good of mankind all over the world, particularly if it can produce little else. By selling those beans outside the country which produces them, that country can obtain credits—dollars—with which to purchase the things which it cannot produce, and which we desire to sell. We cannot do it all. If we do it all, all we shall do is to look at suffering humanity all over the globe and from time to time funnel out from the Treasury of the United States sums sufficient merely to keep life in existence all over the globe.

* * *

I am therefore hopeful, Mr. President, that others may see this situation as I see it, that they may see that we are starting with one bill after another to walk the same roadway we walked after World War I. At that time we loaned money to our customers so that they could buy the goods which they desired from us. We did not let them sell us anything that we could keep out; but we made loans to the extent of $15,000,000,000 after World War I, and our customers paid the money which they had borrowed from us with which to buy the goods we were selling to them. But when the loans stopped in 1928 and 1929 that trade stopped, and the whole world skidded into a gigantic depression. Now we are beginning again to make gifts instead of loans to the foreign states that are in a depleted condition. At the same time we erect barriers so that we will have to make these gifts, for the sake of humanity, over a longer period of time than otherwise would be necessary.

* * *

Mr. Barkley. At the present time, the tariff on wool is 34 cents a pound. We in the United States have never produced as much wool as we consume; and as our population has increased and as our people have from time to time worn more clothes, the proportion of wool produced in the United States in relation to the total amount of wool consumed in the United States has declined, until at the present time, out of a billion pounds of raw wool consumed by the people of the United States, we produce less than 300,000,000 pounds—less than 30 per cent. So, in order to meet our needs, we are required to import more than 70 per cent, or, to state it in round figures, let us say approximately 70 per cent of all the wool we consume.

From the figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Commerce, and other agencies which deal with the cost of living, we are advised that in the eight years from

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1939 to 1947 the cost of clothing to the American people has increased 100 per cent.

The situation with respect to wool at the present time is that the Commodity Credit Corporation, which has purchased wool in order to maintain a price for the American wool producers, now has 460,000,000 pounds of wool in its possession. Under the law, it cannot sell that wool, because Congress has provided that it shall not sell it. One of the objects of this measure, as originally passed by the Senate and as now incorporated in the conference report, is to authorize the Commodity Credit Corporation to sell at the market price the wool it now has, together with the wool which it will take over from the 1947 and 1948 clip. No one thinks that the Commodity Credit Corporation is stupid enough to dump all that wool on the market. It will feed it to the market, of course, as the market will absorb it. There is no provision in this proposed law that compels the Commodity Credit Corporation to sell it; it is merely authorized to sell it. That is a wise provision, because if that Corporation were compelled to keep the 460,000,000 pounds it now has, plus approximately 600,000,000 pounds for the 1947 and 1948 clip, the Commodity Credit Corporation would find itself the owner of a billion pounds of American-produced wool. Inasmuch as we are compelled to buy more than two-thirds of the wool we consume in the manufacture of clothing, blankets, and other woolen manufactured goods in this country, it seems to me that we already have on the books a tariff sufficient to protect the wool growers of the United States, many of whom live within my State.

Mr. Taft. However, the other section, section 338 of the code, relating to discrimination, does apply. Under that provision I think we can find that discrimination exists today in nearly every nation. They have been forced to discriminate against American imports in many respects because they cannot afford to take American imports. Of course, the section already applies to every other agricultural commodity. Why on earth should it not apply to wool?

Action is entirely discretionary with the President. As a matter of permanent law I would be opposed to giving the President the wide discretion given in the bill, but he can apply one of three methods, the tariff, the subsidy, or the quota method. When we come to decide the question ourselves I think we will have to decide what method shall be used. But during the next year and one-half during the maintenance of the agricultural support program I am willing to waive the right of Congress to act, and give discretion to the President as to which of these three methods should be adopted.

Mr. President, I can see no reason why the Australians or any others should think we are changing our policy or doing anything except carrying out the traditional policy which every Senator favors, of placing in the hands of the President some method of protecting American industry. Wool is no petty industry. For a long time American producers provided more than one-half the total consumption of wool in the United States. Today, because of the tremendous increase in consumption, American production is down to about one-third of the total American consumption.

(The Senate agreed by a vote of 48 to 38.)

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FORUM: IS OUR OCCUPATION

YES!

By Frederick H. Cramer

Professor of History, Mount Holyoke College

AS ONE of the leaders in the coalition which defeated the German armies and their civilian government, the United States was forced to consider unprecedented problems. They are specifically:

(1) To share (for an indefinite period!) the administration of one of the greatest industrial nations of the world with a heterogeneous group of allies;

(2) To conduct at least our part of this job in a manner conducive to persuading the defeated Germans of the superiority of democratic institutions and capitalist economy;

(3) To collaborate in disarming and denazifying Germany and to put her economy on a basis where it would be both harmless to the rest of the world and capable of feeding, housing, and clothing the German people.

These were the chief tasks ahead of us on V-J Day. More than two years have elapsed since then. Our approach has resulted in an almost complete failure. A sweeping revision of our occupation policy has just been published, with our avowed aim now being to put Germany back on her feet again. Enthusiastic reports about our past activities in Germany come almost exclusively from our occupation officials (who in many cases are perhaps unconsciously influenced by the luxurious Herrenvolk-manner of living which has been their happy lot and that of their families in the midst of German ruin). On no other controversial topic is public opinion so universally agreed as on our failure in Germany. This, for a believer in democratic processes, should at least be sufficiently significant to warrant real soul-searching.

STEPS TOWARD FAILURE

In a totalitarian state the citizen rightly blames his government for such blunders, albeit under his breath and provided he learns about them at all. In a democracy the citizens are the government and have but to blame themselves. What were the mistakes and to what extent were they American mistakes alone?

We began to treat the Germans to a well-deserved dose of their own medicine. Non-fraternization was our policy. Any psychologist, biologist, or animal breeder could have told those fine minds responsible for this tomfoolery that young men by the million, or more recently by the hundred-

(Continued on page 166)

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POLICY IN GERMANY A FAILURE?

NO!

By David Glen White

O.M.G.U.S., Control Office, Berlin

Mr. White is expressing his own views and not those of Military government

THE lives of Americans will be affected for more than a generation by what we accomplish or fail to accomplish in the occupation of Germany. Therefore, any concern of the American public about Military government policies—even if not always justified—is much preferable to apathy.

Whatever charges may be leveled against Military government—and they are many—no one with a knowledge of the facts can honestly argue that our government began the bleak struggle to win the peace without preparation, plans and policies, or that it has lacked initiative.

PLANNING

At what time the first preparations for Allied government of Germany were started is unknown. In any event, shortly after my arrival in London early in 1943, I found the British had already begun to feel out the United States on its position on the solution of problems which might arise from a future United States-Soviet Russia-United Kingdom occupation of the Reich. In the United States and United Kingdom quarters, a lot of real thinking and planning went on about hypothetical situations which became realities two or three years hence. Unfortunately, many a problem we discussed then is today only partially solved.

But there was an early realization of the difficulties which were later to confront us. So much so that the morale of our less optimistic colleagues declined visibly. Nor did we escape the usual disillusionment of planners whose basic assumptions do not quite materialize. Yet one upshot of it all was increased flexibility. "We have made so many plans based on such different assumptions," one officer recently commented, "that I don't see how any new situation can arise which could not be met by some combination of previous plans."

Before the capitulation of Germany, not only detailed plans for Military government were in existence but also a comprehensive United States policy in the form of the subsequently famous Joint Chiefs of Staff Directive 1067 which was issued to General Eisenhower. The directive instructed the United States Commander-in-Chief to urge its adoption by the other occupying powers.

Some Europeans are inclined to think of Americans primarily as a source of material aid while they consider it their prerogative to supply the policies. Our policy-makers in Washington and our administrators in Berlin

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thousand are strangely desirous of the company of women. To treat the folks of their girl-friends rough has never been an American trait. Small wonder therefore that non-fraternization became a howling failure. Step by step it had to be abandoned, until by now plane-loads of *Fraüleins* are being flown into this country.

We followed this up by demobilizing our armed forces ruthlessly. In place of a relatively battle-matured soldiery, more and more helpless teen-age boys took over the occupying of Germany. Many of them had volunteered for military duty only after the war and saw in their German venture but a free lark in Europe with plenty of *schnapps,* easy women and raucous song. Unpleasant stories about the black-market activities began to filter back to the United States where the black-market has not yet achieved the status of a semi-permanent economic institution. Rape, robbery, and plain vandalism cases larded with mounting venereal disease figures rounded out an already unsavory picture. In short, we had committed ourselves to a long-range military occupation policy without taking remotely adequate steps for creating a corps of trained and reasonably high-class troops.

Another understandable but regrettable error in judgment was our vain endeavor to galvanize political life into action prematurely in Germany. With the abolition of the Nazi regime, only a small group of violent Nazis was thrown out of power and office. The multitude of the civil service workers, the teachers, judges, tax officials and a host of others remained unmolested. Denazification proceedings would have to last nigh unto doomsday to sift even the more palpable Nazi-chaff from the German wheat. The democratic Weimar Republic died, because it believed that efficient civil service, though staffed by anti-democratic nationalists, was preferable to the trouble and near-chaos bound up with the creation of a new "reliable" civil service. Our own policy bears a fatal resemblance to that of the Weimar Republic. In the holy name of efficiency and order, the technicians, the economic and social leaders of old are left in their posts or restored to them.

The real danger of this American efficiency worship is its short-range workability and its long-range futility. In a totalitarian police state, let us say in the Russian zone, the secret police and ruthless terror are able to keep a firm lid on any potentially boiling cauldron of discontent. In a democratic set-up—and that is what we have been trying to build up in our zone—such strong-arm tactics are taboo. Consequently the very same thing, the employing of engineers, technicians, and others regardless of Nazi or non-Nazi antecedents can safely be practiced in the Russian zone. But it is a dangerous folly for a democratic regime to leave vital bastions in the hands of sworn opponents of democracy. The 47 per cent of the Germans who now openly admit that Hitler erred only by losing the war

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but that his ideas were, indeed, fine, are giving the horse-laugh to our idea of preferring efficient administration to thorough denazification.

In our splendid lack of adequate historical training, we have blithely restored to circulation in dozens of cases school-books which had the merit of antedating 1933, the year in which Hitler came to power. In one instance, only a few days before a history book was thus slated to be issued, (the copies having been printed by the hundred thousands), it was discovered that this book, published prior to 1933, was full of rampant nationalism and gross attacks against ourselves and our allies —England and France. Nobody apparently had thought of that fact that the very Nazis and their followers who helped Hitler into the saddle had been brought up exclusively with those pre-1933 schoolbooks! The history-book, in this case, was never issued, but this was one of the few exceptions when primers and other books were not handed out for the German schools in our zone.

—Shoemaker in the *Chicago Daily Ne*

"HOW TO COOK UP ANOTHER WAR"

In part this coy closing of our eyes to the often unsavory past of German burgomasters and the like was again due to our utter lack of vision and preparedness. Our regime in Puerto Rico or the Virgin Islands had not trained any sizable group of administrators equipped both intellectually and educationally to supervise the running of even one fourth of Germany. The most grievous handicap for which we have to thank our school system and the educational policies in most of our colleges and homes was the woeful lack of German-speaking personnel. Refugees who had been naturalized in this country were employed with reluctance. Partly it was feared they would be too anti-German, partly that in a pinch they would be of not impeccable loyalty.

But even all available personnel of this kind would have been far from enough to staff our administrative echelons adequately. Native Americans had abandoned the formerly popular study of German in droves after World War I; immigration from Germany and Austria had dropped to a trickle after the immigration law went into effect in 1924. There simply was no

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chance of obtaining a sufficient number of German-speaking Americans who were remotely able to handle administrative routine. The Russians, on the other hand, could rely on substantial numbers of devoted German Communists for whatever posts they wanted to fill in their own set-up. The result of this shortage was heightened by the unwillingness of many qualified Americans to risk their professional future in this country by staying on for years in the occupation area.

The result was not only a rapidly dwindling supply of executive personnel, but also the growing importance of "the interpreter," usually a German with enough English to carry on official business between both sides. The least of the troubles of the interpreter system is its tediousness. Things take twice as long, or even longer, often because a series of questions arises from one party's inability to understand the meaning of a poorly translated argument or case history. With the best of intentions, interpreter-reliant administrators never obtain the desirable touch with the populace they govern.

As time goes on only people with little to look forward to in this country and a hopelessly small band of idealists are likely to continue the thankless task of running a country which we want to have run itself as soon as it can safely be done. The folly of creating protected American oases in the German wilderness for the families of our personnel may have as its best defence the preservation of some American homes which otherwise would have broken up under the impact of prolonged *Fraülein*-influence upon lonesome Americans. But the evacuation of already overcrowded Germans for the benefit of American families who live in what is to the Germans unimaginable luxury, especially with regard to food, heat, and clothing, has persuaded many Germans that "bosses are bosses," with the Nazis being at least German bosses as a point in their favor. A large part of British colonial personnel has been disliked by "the Natives" all over the world for exactly the same psychological reason. A native tyrant was at least "one of the gang"; a foreign absolute ruler,—and we *are* ruling our German subjects "absolutely,"—cannot even claim that doubtful privilege.

Another basic handicap has been that we agreed to take over a largely agricultural zone, but one whose products were far from adequate for even modest self-sufficiency at all times. Into this zone have since crowded millions of voluntary or forcibly displaced newcomers. The same has been true for other zones, and all in all, thanks to its relatively rural character and our ability and willingness to provide a rock-bottom minimum diet, our zone has perhaps fared somewhat better than the British. Yet, we also inherited the most reactionary, hidebound, and backward part of Germany, with the possible exception of Pomerania and East Prussia which fell to the Poles and Russians. To introduce democracy in Bavaria is something which evokes a tender smile from anyone who knows dear old Bavaria. If ever it is done, it will take a long, long time, indeed!

The fundamental error was, of course, our agreeing to a multipartite

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occupation of Germany. This may have been an inevitable concession to our wartime allies, especially in the case of Russia and France, but one wonders what would have happened under a different scheme. That the present one resulted in utter failure we openly acknowledged by trying to pool our zone with the British zone of occupation. The French and Russians have remained aloof till now. At the moment even a dollar-starved Britain raises a major issue by preferring socialized starvation in its own zone of primarily industrial Germany to our pious suggestion to wait with nationalization till the German people can express their wishes more clearly. We assume hopefully, of course, that they will prefer their dear old Krupps and coal-barons to any government bureaucracy running nationalized mining and steel industries.

The impasse into which we have thus maneuvered ourselves stems from the basic misconception of our wartime German policy. Absurdities like the Morgenthau de-industrialization fetish still echo in the corridors of many a capital. Similarly, on the political level, the hope of creating a federalized Germany with a weak central government dies hard. For decades Germany has not been able to feed her population from the products of her over-worked and overcrowded soil. Industrial exports were the key to the balance of her economy. The American and the British taxpayers are beginning to learn this fact the hard way. It was available in all books on world trade for many years, had the powers that were but deigned to read them. It was equally clear that the Ruhr area was the chief key to German industrial life and its coal the main fuel supply of continental Europe outside Poland and Russia. Today, on a hypothetical diet of 4000 calories a day, the German miners produce about half their pre-war output. Enraged congressmen yell "sabotage." Maybe. Certainly there is a good deal of quiet sabotage going on all the time. But what about the miners' families? Four thousand calories from which the miner deducts as much as possible to bolster the starvation rations of a wife and children do not leave much for himself.

The complete dislocation of German economy has been one of the results of our de-industrialization policy. The cure now proposed, however, may be worse than the disease itself. Already howls come from Paris and other capitals about the danger of a revived industrial Germany. The Marshall Plan tossed off in somewhat slapdash fashion at the Harvard commencement brought about the most recent dilemma: our necessarily anti-Russian foreign policy needs the political support of as many European governments as possible. The economic bait of the Marshall Plan served this purpose. At the same time, Germany's still enormous latent industrial potential—70 per cent of which are unused at the moment—is the chief economic asset of continental Europe outside Russia. Logically, from our point of view, we have therefore scrapped our previous German policy of de-industrialization. Unfortunately this means that Germany will get stronger, economically first, politically later. Seventy million Germans,

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squeezed into an area far smaller than even Weimar Germany was, are seething with resentment and wholly unwilling to accept their reduced circumstances as the result of their past criminal folly. These Germans no doubt will be highly unpleasant neighbors in any case, but more particularly so, if endowed with the financial and political backing of the United States and Britain.

This, too, is what we reap: logic demands a reactivation of German industry for the benefit of our own taxpayer, the European economy, and inevitably, alas, the Germans themselves. Logic also demands our trying for the cooperation of the Western European countries of which, at least, France seems inclined to prefer Communism to German resurrection. It does not do to dismiss these sentiments as European hysteria. Our German policy of the past five years has led us into a dead-end road, where we are now damned if we do and damned if we don't.

From the viewpoint of Germany's neighbors it looks somewhat risky to agree to the economic revival of Germany as a prerequisite for future American assistance. We may lose more politically, therefore, than the hoped for curtailing of the economic drain of a starving Germany. Yet, what can a European premier think of the reliability of a country which like ours changes its most important foreign policies overnight, so to speak. With Congress officially promised relief from the grievous danger of a special fall session, why—it is asked over there—do we insist on a European self-help program at the earliest possible moment, a program to which we contribute (before it's even drafted) our unilateral announcement of the reindustrialization of Germany? At the same time we give, of course, no guarantee whatever of supporting any European scheme for the rehabilitation of Europe.

No sane judge can deny that for the hunger-torn, enfeebled neighbors of Germany these prospects are not altogether alluring. The utter failure of our past German occupation policy on every score but that of holding down our slice of the German population is an established fact. Whether or not we can undo at least part of our sins of omission is doubtful. If we count on the inevitability of World War III we have to court the non-German states of Europe at any price. But even allowing for World War III, we may back the wrong horse in strengthening a Germany which our army in its happily depleted peace-time size could not hold against the Russians for a month and whose revived industrial plants if occupied by the Soviet armies we might have to smash with atom bombs at the very outset of such a war. To align ourselves firmly with whatever non-fascist and non-Communist country in Europe we can is the first prerequisite to the success of our new German policy. Irrevocably assured of American military assistance against any future German pressure, Germany's neighbors would agree far more readily to German re-industrialization than they do now with their only protection a feeble, veto-hampered United Nations.

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As a failure, our first two years of occupation of the German zone will rank with our "Reconstruction Period" in the South after 1865. Our modern carpetbaggers may be less crude and fewer in number, but the long memories of the occupied are likely to be even more bitter than those of our most rabid "Southerners." It should be clear, however, that the failure of our major occupation policies is inherent in themselves, as much as in the additional factors, among which were hurried demobilization, lack of trained personnel, and the general and ineradicable aversion of the American people against long-range commitments which really do commit us. In view of these circumstances beyond their control, our occupation personnel, battling it out in Germany, have done the best they could. That they did not succeed was not so much their own fault, as it was that of the men responsible for the master directives.

No contractor can successfully build from incorrect or non-existing blueprints. The usual habit of blaming our German failure overseas on the local personnel stems from pleasant but loose thinking. In a democracy there are no scapegoats, or better, there should be none. We the people are responsible for what is done in our name.

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have never accepted such a passive role. Extremely able statesmen-soldiers such as Eisenhower, McNarney and Clay have consistently pursued an independent United States policy in the Berlin four-power negotiations and have been second to none in seizing the initiative. In doing so they have received wholehearted support from men in Washington such as Secretaries of State, Byrnes and Marshall, and Secretary of War Patterson.

INITIATIVE

Anyone who cares to review the record of our initiative should begin by comparing the Joint Chiefs of Staff Directive to General Eisenhower with the text of the Potsdam Agreement. He may be surprised to find that the latter document incorporates much of the previous United States directive including verbatim passages.

No occupying power has been more persistent than the United States in trying to make Quadripartite machinery work or in striving to reach agreements with other powers, particularly the U.S.S.R. These efforts were made undeterred by skeptics, including some in our own ranks, who freely predicted that a Control Council for Germany would never be set up.

By V-E Day, we had captured 78,000 square miles, or about 42.7 per cent, of Germany, and United States troops were as far east as Leipzig in important areas earmarked for the Soviet zone of occupation. This valuable territory was evacuated to the U.S.S.R. in order to facilitate the establishment of the Control Council. Finally, upon arrival in Berlin, we furnished such minor items as the building for the Control Council, took the initiative

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in working out Allied Control Authority procedures, and accepted the chairmanship for the first month of regular meetings. Much of the drive which has since kept the Control Council going has come from the Americans. Fashionable though it is to minimize the Allied Control Authority's achievements, if one measures them against the fact that every decision required four-power unanimity, the amount of work accomplished is not to be sneered at.

POLICY

United States policy, which subsequently found its way into the Potsdam Agreement, enjoins that "the administration of affairs in Germany should be directed toward the decentralization of the political structure and the development of local responsibility." Such a policy could be urged with complete sincerity by the United States which has lived under a decentralized, federal form of government for over a century and a half. One great obstacle to the federalization of Germany was the existence of Prussia, a state which through its preponderance of population and area would have relegated all other states (Laender) to the position of junior partners. The United States took the lead in the dissolution of Prussia by utilizing those Prussian provinces located in our zone to constitute the enlarged state of Hessen on September 19, 1945. The other three zones of Germany followed suit and the *de jure* dissolution of Prussia was finally confirmed by the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers March 10, 1947.

The Potsdam Agreement called for the restoration of local self-government through elective councils as rapidly as was consistent with military security and the purpose of military occupation. Less than six months after Potsdam, the United States Military government set a precedent by ordering local elections to be held. Other elections followed. In our zone, state constitutional assemblies were elected, and constitutions were drawn up and adopted by popular vote. Our initiative in going ahead with elections created a precedent which Military government in the other three zones were hardly able to ignore.

DENAZIFICATION

One of the hottest issues ever to strike Military government was denazification. Properly understood, denazification, together with the war crimes trials, represents a tremendous departure from the principle of collective guilt. Originally denazification was administered on a basis of rigid categories without much opportunity for an individual to plead extenuating circumstances. Although this form of denazification meted approximate justice in the majority of cases, enough cases of injustice occurred to cause Military government officials with a sense of fair play to press for reform.

The reform took place early in 1946. As now carried out in the United States zone, denazification attempts to assess every German's responsibility

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for the war and to make him share the burdens of defeat in proportion to his individual guilt. Germans under the age of 18, as a group, are considered innocent. Other Germans are classified preliminarily either as exonerated persons or given some other classification varying from "follower" to "major offender." The most important feature of the law is the right accorded to every individual to appear before a tribunal and show cause why his preliminary classification should be modified. Once a classification is sustained even the penalties imposed have a real meaning. Thus a person, who through his support of Nazism helped devastate other countries and bring about his own country's destruction, may be assigned to a labor camp to aid repairing war damages, and most of his property may be confiscated for reparations. It is believed that no other zone in Germany can surpass our record for initiative, thoroughness and fairness in denazification.

—Hutton in *The Philadelphia Inquirer.*

"WE CAN'T RELAX FOR YEARS—IF EVER!"

The Potsdam Agreement promised the treatment of Germany as a single economic unit. When, after 11 months of patient negotiations, the Quadripartite implementation of this part of the Potsdam Agreement was still unattainable, the United States Military government took the lead in breaking the impasse and proposed a joint economic administration with any or all other zones. The British accepted immediately with the subsequent economic fusion of the two zones and, more recently, the establishment of a Bizonal Economic Council. At the same time, our Military government still hopes for agreement with the U.S.S.R. and France, and continues full-scale participation in the Allied Control Authority in Berlin.

United States policy, which in slightly modified version was written into the Potsdam Agreement, permitted average living standards in Germany not exceeding those of other European countries (excluding the United Kingdom and the U.S.S.R.). Some idealists among Military government officials had hoped that this limitation might at some future time

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become an incentive for the Germans to assist in raising the general European living standard. It now seems that the initiative to raise European living standards will come from the Marshall Plan, which has been proposed at a time when it is desirable to stress that the United States is also deeply concerned with Europe's economic requirements outside of Germany and Austria.

In conclusion, there may be some question as to what constitutes the principal objective of United States occupation policy. It is nothing less than preventing Germany from ever becoming again a threat to the peace of the world. Closely tied up with the peace of the world are also our relations with France, the British Empire, and the U.S.S.R., which are profoundly affected by our occupation policies.

We, who are old enough to have seen the United States involved in war with Germany twice, are willing to consider the occupation a success if Germany does not threaten world peace for merely another generation. The steps in the accomplishment of the principal United States objective are the elimination of Nazism and militarism, industrial disarmament, demilitarization, and democratization.

It would be fallacious, however, to suppose that a democratic Germany, even with our brand of democracy, must inevitably be friendly to the United States. On the contrary, it is at least conceivable that once a democratic German government achieves some freedom of action, it will strive to play the occupying powers against each other and seek one concession after another, claiming that these are needed to bolster up a democratic regime. Regardless of ideological allegiance, Germany's geographical position and her tradition of *Realpolitik* predisposes her to such a policy.

The democratization of Germany has just started; many obstacles beset its path, and the final outcome is uncertain. But it is an objective we must pursue despite difficulties. Some impetuous critics think Germany should have been democratized within the last two years. Yet, how many of these critics would claim they are able in the space of two years to shape the future outlook of their own children? The democratization of Germany involves an attempt by voluntary methods to shape the future outlook of an entire nation. Meanwhile, certain safeguards must be maintained, the most important of which is continued occupation.

Webster, please note, telephone company's definitions of "emergency":

"I just can't wear my girl friend's girdle—she went to work in mine."

* * *

"Would you call telling your mother-in-law that you were going to be late for dinner an emergency?"

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1897 - 1947 50 YEARS OF FORUM

Fifty years ago, in 1897, the following opinions were recorded in FORUM:

Owing to the cessation of war among the nations of European blood, greater freedom from destructive epidemics, and improved sanitary conditions, the 'bread-eaters' are increasing at a much greater rate than ever, and annual additions are nearly one-half greater than twenty-five years ago.

"We must endeavor to make the police force a terror to the evil-doer, not the feared servant of the law-abiding. This end will not be consummated until narrow-minded politicians shall cease their efforts to take the backbone out of the Civil-Service system. The faithful and honest application of that system in the Police Department of New York has vastly improved the force, and given us a most intelligent body of men."

Signs and conditions hold out the promise that in a relatively short time the United States will again engage on a large scale in the business of ocean transportation,—so long neglected that, to two generations, our former prominence in this honorable trade is only a tradition.

"Well, perhaps, after all, there is no help for it; and the tendency of modern civilization is to quietism, both in feeling and expression. The loud shrieks and jabbering of the savage pass, by slow degrees, through the impassioned appeals of the tub-thumper on the platform or in the pulpit, to the calm, common sense of the philosopher in his study."

The financial or currency history of each nation has abundantly shown the confusion, uncertainty, and loss attending any attempt at Bimetallism, and, in the end, the practical failure of such attempt.

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The Anti-Banqueters

By Robert Francis

THE Anti-Banqueters point to two celebrated banquets of the past to explain their stand. One was the great feast given by Belshazzar, king of Babylon, to a thousand of his lords. While they were drinking wine from gold and silver vessels, a mysterious hand wrote on the wall: "God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished it. Thou are weighed in the balances, and art found wanting." The other was a banquet given by Macbeth and Lady Macbeth at which a certain ghost sat in the host's chair, and brought the feasting to a sudden and inauspicious end.

At every state banquet today, whether in Nanking or Moscow or London or Washington (so say the Anti-Banqueters) an invisible hand writes on the wall, and the ghosts are beyond number.

The people of the world may be divided into four classes: (1) those that are starving, (2) those that though not starving do not have enough to eat, (3) those that have enough, and (4) those that have too much. A fundamental task of statesmanship is to raise the first two classes up to the third, at the expense, if need be, of the fourth. Yet whenever statesmen meet officially at table, as at the beginning or close of international conferences, it is with this class of over-fed and ostentatious feeders that they identify themselves. Supposedly representing the common people of the earth, actually with their caviar, their turtle soup, and their exclusive wines they represent the international smart set. What chance is there, the Anti-Banqueters ask, that basic world problems will be solved so long as the men entrusted to solve them lack the wit to see and the courage to correct the ironic ineptitude of this performance?

In any age and at any time, according to the Anti-Banqueters, a splurge in food is bad taste. Today when famine reaches from one end of the earth to the other, bad taste is bad conscience. But what is particularly objectionable is not indulgence in private, bad as that is, but the public flaunting of it, not only by plutocrats, magnates, high financiers, movie stars, and international playboys, but by the men consecrated to the task of achieving peace in the world.

Who are these Anti-Banqueters? A few months ago a handful of people discovered that they were thinking in much the same direction. Each had been looking for some approach to international problems that would be new yet realistic. An approach that would challenge the strangle-hold of the orthodox policy of getting all you can and keeping all you get. One of the group said

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something about food. Could statesmen be induced to sit down to an official meal so simple that no one could say that the host was bragging or that the guests were greedy? During and after such a meal they might find it easier to keep in mind the common people who were eating that sort of meal themselves. Having foregone their caviar, the statesmen might—it would be possible—be a little more disposed to forego some other things such as precedent, prestige and even a measure of national sovereignty. Such a meal might in time become a symbol, a fraternal rite, a communion service between man and man, nation and nation. Common people reading the menu in their morning papers would eat their own commonplace food with greater relish. Having read with approval what the statesmen ate, they would be disposed to go ahead and read with confidence what the statesmen said and did.

Though the idea came from one member of the group, the others saw immediately that it hinted at a whole philosophy of human relations. It seemed so clearly the approach they had all been looking for that they felt they had always been Anti-Banqueters. The group is still a handful with next to no organization. Their only pledge is two-fold: to renounce gormandism themselves, and to discourage it in others.

Far from being kill-joys they get a lot of fun out of their efforts. One member has written a lively article contrasting the recommendations of the President's Famine Emergency Committee of 1946, with the menu of the $100-a-plate Jefferson Day Democratic banquet of 1947. The Famine Committee, as you may recall, had suggested that we "use less bread at each meal . . . eliminate the custom of trimming toast and sandwich crust . . . and eliminate three-layer cakes." The menu of the Jefferson Day banquet apparently did not feature any sort of elimination.

To give an idea of the sort of questions the Anti-Banqueters have to meet, I should like to quote (and I have permission to do so) an interview between a newspaper reporter and an Anti-Banqueter in a small mid-western city.

Q. You are one of the so-called "Anti-Banqueters?"

A. I am.

Q. Does that mean that you are opposed to all banquets, all big feeds and feasts?

A. We are opposed to the sort of banquet the big political boys like to put on.

Q. You think eliminating a few such banquets, or even all of them, would have an appreciable effect on the world food situation?

A. Not directly. But that is not the strategy of our movement.

Q. May I ask what that strategy is?

A. Quite simply, we believe that if the big boys, at least when dining officially, made a point of eating only what the little fellows have to eat, they would make more headway in promoting peace and cooperation in the

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world — in a world consisting largely of little fellows interested in living their lives in peace, and freedom from being pushed around.

Q. But the little fellows like a big meal once in a while themselves, don't they? However, I'm not here to argue. I'm a reporter.

A. Argument is a good way to get at some facts. Go ahead.

Q. Well, what would you Anti-Banqueters say to the four-dollar dinner I'm going to next week? Special occasion, you know.

A. We wouldn't join you, but we wouldn't be particularly interested in trying to stop you. I'll tell you what *would* range us against such a dinner. If you represented some people — 10 people or 100,000,000 — and some of them were hungry and some even starving, and if you were meeting with other men also representing people many of whom were hungry and starving, and if your job were to try to solve the food shortage as well as to get people all over the world to understand each other and work together — *then* I'd oppose your big spread. I'd say it was the perfect way *not* to go at your job.

Q. I get your point. But what chance is there that the big boys will get it too? Or even hear about it? Or if they hear, will want to do anything about it? Or if they want to do something, will be able?

A. A good idea sometimes travels a long way, and gains force as it goes.

Q. Do you want to eliminate these state banquets or just simplify them?

A. We don't want to eliminate any meal. The more eating together we do the better. Some of us Anti-Banqueters believe that as long as there is mass starvation in the world, the most fitting and effective menu for public gatherings would be a pretty austere one. Something corresponding to the 1200-calories-a-day ration usual today in Central Europe—which you doubtless know is *under half the minimum for health*. Others of us think that the meal should be substantial though simple, the sort of meal that *ought* to be in reach of all people at all times. I myself feel that both types of menu have their place. People with common ideals and sympathies might well agree to turn their feasting into fasting. But when American diplomats are entertaining, let us say, the Russians, it would be more diplomatic and effective to serve a delicious meal, but one without the customary swank and bravado.

Q. Are you assuming that people at state banquets overeat?

A. No, I'm only assuming that state banquets are ordinarily invitations to people, if not to over-eat, at least to eat too expensively, too extravagantly. I'm also assuming that everybody present at such a banquet, however individually abstemious he

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may be, necessarily condones the splurge and what it stands for.

Q. But is what you call a splurge a splurge to these people? Aren't you attacking a mere detail?

A. Right, a detail. How does the lumberman get the log-jam moving? By attacking one detail, one log.

Q. Well, I guess I've kept you long enough. Before I go, I want to say (off the record) that you've given me some new ideas. But how many people will listen to you long enough to get your ideas? Won't they just poke fun at them and at you?

A. That would be one of the best things that could happen. Having started by poking fun at *us,* they might end by seeing the absurdity, the pomposity, the stupidity, of much international dealing. And if they began to laugh at that, that would be about the best we could hope for.

* * *

The United States government recognizes the inter-relation of the two most urgent problems in the world today: relief for the starving, and a solution of the deadlock with Russia. The deadlock hinders rehabilitation; and the failure of rehabilitation prolongs the deadlock. The Anti-Banqueters maintain that to change this situation something new must be injected into it. Not a new loan, not a new declaration, not a new secretary of state, but a new attitude. Perhaps only a new gesture that will grow into a new attitude. Something sensible that will surprise people and possibly amuse them. Something that Jesus might have thought of, or St. Francis, or Lao-tzu, or a child. A note of relaxation in an age of high-pressuring. A gesture of self-containment in an age of self-expansion. Would anyone deny that an ambassador might conceivably accomplish more by having an inferior precede him through a doorway than by negotiating a billion-dollar loan?

Problems sometimes reach such a tangle that their only solution is dissolution, in the way that laughter can dissolve a tense moment. We Americans have and want to hold; the Russians have not and want to get. Very well, say the Anti-Banqueters, let us hold onto our principles and die for them (which is not always equivalent to killing for them) if need be. But let's relax our hold on a few of our super-electric refrigerators and the fancy dishes they contain. Once when dining out and asked which dish he preferred, Thoreau remarked, "the nearest."

* * *

I have presented the position of the Anti-Banqueters as sympathetically as I could. If I have been too sympathetic, I want to assure the reader that I am also aware of certain weaknesses in their position. These people must be classed at best as idealists, at worst as futilitarians. Well-meaning as they doubtless are, they are probably a little cracked and certainly a little queer. Perhaps, without knowing it, they suffer from some sort of hidden hunger, some subtle anemia that makes them look askance at all hearty feasting.

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Man With the Lantern

It was the small hours after the cocks have crowed,
All the dead night was on her, and her pain;
She could not sleep, she thought of her old age,
Of her husband who would not work again.

The stars were shining, but the stars were not
The ones that shone on the farm those years ago
When her husband was young and took his light
And went out to the stock through stars or snow.

She fretted, and she tossed. The house was still.
She was so awake she heard the sigh
Always in the grain of ancient wood.
Her pain went on. She wished that she might die.

She heard him coming, and she saw his light,
Though the stars were shining, it showed clear.
A man with a lantern. She could see his feet,
The lantern lighted them as they came near.

Maybe it was her husband. But he lay
Old and quiet on his withered hips.
Maybe a dream. Yet she was wide awake,
She felt her life out to her fingertips.

It was like the old times. She drew in
Her breath. The tender light was everywhere.
The stars still shone, but they were nothing at all.
The lantern light was in his breath and hair.

She closed her eyes, and felt the man come on,
Pain and age rose forever from her bed;
She felt him pass, she knew that she would see
No light again so gentle as his head.

—ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN

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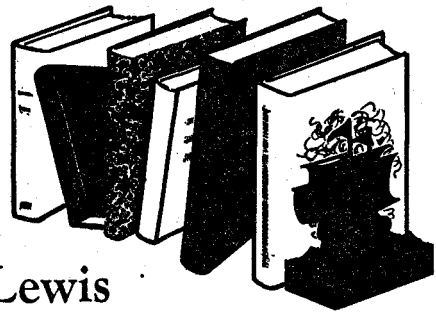
BOOKS In Brief



By Jasper R. Lewis

RUSSIAN PEOPLE—NOT POLITICS

THERE have been many books on the U.S.S.R. with particular reference to the political outlook, the ideas of its leaders, and the prospects for the near future of that country. *"Just Tell the Truth,"* by John L. Strohm, (Scribner's, $3.50), lays claim to being different, and it is, in that politics are only mentioned by inference. Strohm was managing editor of *Prairie Farmer* and president of the American Agricultural Editors' Association in 1946. Resigning his job, he traveled through Russia to learn about the masses and to introduce them to American readers. While he doesn't say so, it may well be that his success in getting a visa was due to his farm background and the desire of Russian authorities to impress the back country here where Strohm was sure to circulate his reports.

The author is the country editor; his style betrays him. He is alert to farm problems and quite naive in his deductions on agricultural life in Russia. He claims no obstacles were put in his path in 1946; that he went freely, asked pointedly, and was answered straightforwardly. He found living conditions on the farms hard; food was scarce, and the workers fought bravely for each ounce of produce that might be raised. Unfortunately, even Strohm cannot make the conditions look like anything but a near relative of serfdom. Voluntarily or not, that is what it is. The women slaving in the fields long hours, with little gain to themselves but a little food, are repaid in part by credit for patriotism. They have to do it because of the lack of farm machinery. American women might well do the same under similar conditions, with the one difference that they would be individuals, working solely for themselves, not cogs in a machine guided by a Party overseer.

The common people surely are struggling heroically. Yet throughout the Soviet economy the slogan has been changed to "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his *work*." The original cry of "to each according to his needs" is relegated to the Russian hope chest. In fact, Strohm found that in the Soviet Union today great

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stress is laid on inequality. This gives the higher groups more comforts, and more incentive to those on the lower rungs.

There are some case histories to show that these people are honestly enthusiastic about their form of government and are willing to forego comforts in their desire to get somewhere economically. This might not always hold for the leaders. However, the author's conviction is that the masses admire America, are grateful for the food and other help given them, and want nothing but friendship with us. In that sense, it is a reassuring book; some of Strohm's interrogators asked him why there were Russian press notices about America's desire for war with Russia, and assured him of their abhorrence of the idea.

It is difficult, however, to believe that there was not some stage-setting, particularly when welcome signs appeared to greet the visitor in out of the way places. The poverty of the people is only the more emphasized by the caviar set before the guest. However, if Strohm succeeded in portraying us to the Russians as well as he pictures them to us, he accomplished some good. Incidentally, he makes it an entertaining book, liberally supplying it with photographs he took himself.

BRIEFER COMMENT

GENERAL INTEREST

The early 1860's in Nevada saw the beginnings of Samuel L. Clemens' career as a writer as well as prospector during the Comstock Lode days. *Mark Twain in Nevada,* by Effie Mona Mack, (Scribner's, $5.00), is an entertaining volume, giving more details of Twain's life there, and more of the political and social problems of the territory than Clemens put in his own *Roughing It.* It is descriptive as well as biographical, and a welcome addition to the lore on the humorist.

The Right to Fly, A Study in Air Power, by John C. Cooper, (Holt, $5.00), is a discussion not only of the progress of aviation in commerce and war, but an argument for the necessity of continued alertness on our part. Cooper has long been identified with air travel, and analyzes the air policies of Russia, Britain and the United States, and the details of the various conventions that have attempted to regulate this traffic. Some maps help to understand the importance of the subject.

An excellent description of the German people after VE-Day is given by James Stern in *The Hidden Damage,* (Harcourt, Brace, $4.00). The book starts out with a mild but shrewd characterization of bureaucracy's workings in Washington. The author was sent overseas as a Bombing Analyst. His job was to observe, translate documents and dig for facts during our occupation. To his official tasks he added those of the professional writer, for his recollections of people and the stories they told him give

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vivid impressions of German reaction to the conquerors. He tells his experiences in exciting fashion, so that the picture is dramatic.

The horrors and inhumanities of the German concentration camps and prisons are told bluntly and plainly in *Five Chimneys,* The Story of Auschwitz, by Olga Lengyel, (Ziff-Davis, $3.00). The author, a surgeon's wife, was an inmate, and describes what she saw matter of factly and dispassionately, but the reader will not remain so calm. Some of the most notorious ruffians who were charged with the management of the terror are named, together with incidents to show their depravity and bestiality. The five chimneys were those of the ovens in which humans were burned, either dead or alive. Not a pretty story, but one that needs recording.

Four Stars of Hell, by Laurence Critchell, (McMullen, $3.75), is a belated war volume, but exciting in its personal history of the men of the 501st Parachute Infantry Regiment. Incidents of the invasion of Germany and the Battle of the Bulge highlight the story. Some of the chapters appeared earlier in magazines.

The history of the Aleutian Islands from early Russian efforts at development to their place in the war, is told in *Bridge to Russia,* by Murray Morgan, (Dutton, $3.00). Of particular interest is the early history, punctuated by the varying fortunes of Russian adventurers under the Czarist rules. This part is filled with human interest about the Russian court, the commercial longings of the ruling class, and a goodly sprinkling of intrigue and plotting.

James Lewis Kraft of cheese fame turns author to write an interesting description of his hobby, jade. *Adventure in Jade,* (Holt, $3.50), tells of the beginning of his interest in the mineral and his increasing devotion to its study. He tells some of the history of jade, its position in Chinese economics and lore, and also its discovery in Alaska and other parts of the United States, and in Mexico. He also tells the reader the personal requirements for the jade hobbyist, aside from the wherewithal, of course.

For those who seek inspiration in sermons and serious dissertations, Charles P. Taft offers *Why I Am for the Church,* (Farrar, Straus, $2.25). Taft is president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. While not a cleric, his views are orthodox, and his erudition in biblical topics worthy of the cloth. These addresses were made at various times in the past 10 years.

Giannini is a famous name in the financial world. His biography, as related in *A. P. Giannini,* Giant in the West, (Prentice-Hall, $4.50), is written by Julian Dana, who has done a number of books on the story of California. Giannini, a native Californian of Italian extraction, started in the produce business, and his rise to merchant, then local banker and finally an international figure is the typical American success story. Part of the interest lies in the noted figures of the world with whom he came in contact.

The efforts of an American prop-

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agandist in China in the early years of the war are well told in *American Agent,* by Mark Gayn and John Caldwell, (Holt, $3.00). Caldwell was the agent. Born and brought up in China, he was selected by the United States government as an emissary of the American Information Service to spread news about American war successes to counter the Japanese. Incidentally he picked up information of importance to American intelligence. The telling of his activities is interesting, especially the incidents wherein he describes personal contacts with the Chinese, and pictures Chinese life during the war.

The Society for the Propagation of the Faith was founded in 1819 in Lyons, France, by Pauline Jaricot, a young French girl. *Difficult Star,* by Katherine Burton, (Longmans, Green, $2.75), is the biography of the foundress. She is pictured as a typical girl of the day, interested in the little affairs of her circumscribed world, until her spiritual awakening at 17 led her to work among the poor. Her efforts resulted in the eventual organization of a group for the purpose, given the same title it has today. In addition to its religious interest, the book has the merit of portraying social conditions in France over a hundred years ago.

FICTION

The old tale of Faust and the devil is retold, Dr. Faustus re-lived by an elderly doctor, in *Mister St. John,* by Raoul C. Faure, (Harper's, $2.75). It is fantasy, of course, interwoven, with some tender and some philosophical moments, and not to be accepted at face value. It is beautifully written. If memory serves Faure's pen also fathered that psychological novel of a year ago, of a man who went mad on a lone Antarctic beach. For the discerning reader it should be a find.

Bend Sinister, by Vladimir Nabokov, (Holt, $2.75), is the experience of an intellectual professor in a tyrant state, possibly a Russian satellite. It is morbid but brilliant, marred only by too much injection of the author's native Russian phrases. A relentless, powerful novel, if you like that sort of thing.

Bitter in its memories, *Forest of the Dead,* by Ernest Wiechert, (Greenberg, $2.50), tells what happened to the author in Nazi prison camps, including Buchenwald. Wiechert refused to play with the Hitler regime, and paid for his steadfastness to principle. Here is the torture system applied to nonconforming Germans themselves, almost as brutally as it was used for non-Aryans and other conquered peoples. It is excellently written and translated.

A selection of short stories or excerpts from long ones, *Treasures of the Kingdom,* edited by T. Everett Harre, (Rinehart, $3.98), is based on the theme that the world needs an anthology devoted to the ideas of faith, hope and love. There is a wide range of authors, from Tolstoy and Balzac to Edna Ferber and Israel Zangwill.

Americans One and All, edited by Harry Shaw and Ruth Davis, (Harper's, $3.50), is an anthology of short stories intended to show

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the workings of the American melting pot. There are about a score of tales, each representing a nationality from which the American scene has drawn some of its actors. The stories are also good in their own right as fiction.

Indians and American soldiers in the Fort Laramie area are the background for a story of adventure and love in the 1860's. *The Gilded Rooster,* by Richard Emery Roberts, (Putnam, $2.75), is a reflection of frontier days, primitive emotions and a love story that is weaker than its characters or the action itself.

Kenny, by Louis Bromfield, (Harper's, $2.00), is the story of an Ohio farm boy and his wife caught in the wash of war. It is character study in the Bromfield manner of plain people and simple emotions. There are two other short stories in the volume: "Retread," which touches on both World Wars, and "The End of the Road," the tale of a woman collaborationist in Paris toward the end of the German occupation in Paris. The last is the most dramatic, though it sounds familiar and may have appeared before.

Life in Hamburg after the collapse of Germany was not all refugees and hate. Perhaps it was worse spiritually for those who had to remain on duty in occupation, or like the women, stranded and trying to exist in divers ways. *The Lights Are Low,* by Jack Aistrop, (Farrar, Straus, $2.75), is the life of a dozen humans intermixed in the mess of this situation, with love, privation and a good bit of human interest thrown in.

For those who revel in mystery stories to be solved only by codes or ciphers, here is *Famous Stories of Code and Cipher,* edited by Raymond T. Bond, (Rinehart, $3.50). There are 16 titles, some well known like Poe's *Gold Bug,* and others by Doyle, O. Henry and lesser known figures. Entirely for entertainment and well suited for it.

Vermilion, by Idwal Jones, (Prentice-Hall, $3.00), is the saga of one family in California, from its first successful adventurer a hundred years ago to the San Francisco earthquake and later. The theme is the ruggedness of the old and the weakness of the later generations. Something like a popular western, light but interesting.

An American woman visiting in Paris before the war went to a bureau which provided American men as escorts. When informed that she could engage either a Northerner or a Southerner, she asked the difference, and was told that the Southerners were gallant and debonair, while the Northerners were smooth talkers and romantic.

"Well, then," she said, "I'll take a Southerner from as far north as possible!"

—*Tattler and Bystander*

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COUNTRY COMMENT

"No overcrowded urban street is a better place for humane concentration upon the ethics of human progress than a graveyard," says Frank Lloyd Wright.

Mr. Wright could have made his statement stronger. He could have said that a graveyard is a far better place for humane concentration upon the ethics of human progress than an overcrowded urban street. Even a city graveyard. And a country graveyard is one of the finest places on earth for humane concentration upon the ethics of human progress.

Recently Mr. Wright was asked by *The New York Times* to make any comment he cared to about plans for the proposed United Nations headquarters. In reply, he said substantially two things. One was that no buildings that the United Nations could build would be better than a makeshift, since contemporary architects had not achieved—had scarcely thought of trying to achieve—a style expressive of the democratic ideal. The other thing was that though a good building was impossible, a good site was possible, or at least had been possible.

"Buy a befitting tract of land, say a thousand acres or more, not too easy to reach. . . . Sequester the United Nations. Why does it not itself ask for good ground where nature speaks and the beauty of organic order shows more clearly the true pattern of all peace whatsoever?"

Though the die has been cast and the international skyscrapers will presently be scraping the Manhattan sky, it is impossible to keep from contemplating the serene alternative that Mr. Wright proposes.

It would be dairy country, of course, with cattle grazing in view of the United Nations buildings, and on summer afternoons, when the typewriters happened to be still a moment, an occasional lowing heard through open windows. In leisure hours people would stroll along quiet roads. Mr. Gromyko, for instance, would observe the similarity of farm life in Russia and in America. If he liked buttermilk, he might now and then enjoy a glass of it fresh at the farm.

There would be birds all over the place. The flash of a scarlet tanager might take the Brazilian delegate's mind off United Nations proceedings for a moment; and the harangue of a brown thrasher from a nearby treetop might even interrupt a speech on atomic energy.

At least one mountain would be in view on clear days, and deep forests would be within hiking distance. And somewhere under tall pines and enclosed by a white picket fence would be a forgotten graveyard with "memento mori" still legible on the gray slabs.

—ROBERT FRANCIS

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The Theatre Arts

By John Gassner

AN INTREPID company of 12, which includes tried and true performers, installed itself this summer in New York's City Center and gave the city its first real summer theatre. The idea is commendable. Why confine summer theatre to the barns and stables of the countryside while the millions of New Yorkers who remain in town for the greater part of the warm season are not beneficiaries of the revivals, tryouts and experiments lavished upon vacationers? The venture would have been quixotic in the days before air-conditioned theatres. Today it is both feasible and proper.

It is true nonetheless that New Yorkers and other city dwellers are more fastidious at home than they are in the country. Perhaps they are less relaxed when a visit to the playhouse entails a subway, bus or taxi ride rather than a breezy motor trip through green fields. The urban and the bucolic moods will always be miles apart. Perhaps, too, the memory of evenings on the main stem sets high standards. Those who produce "summer theatre" in the city will, therefore, be faced with exacting audiences that allow no quarter. The product—play, direction, performance—must not be bargain-counter goods.

That the City Center Company understood this well enough was evident from the care that had been taken with the first production, *Rip Van Winkle*. It was staged by that excellent actor and teacher of acting, Herbert Berghof, designed and lighted by Carl Kent, supplied with charming incidental music by Andre Singer, and supplemented with masks by that master of all creators of masks, Remo Bufano. What was lacking was an acceptably modern-spirited play and the knowledge necessary to temper the wind of modern cosmopolitan scorn to the shorn—or, rather, exhumed—lamb of nineteenth century dramatics.

Washington Irving's tale has a long history that takes us back to what must be thought of as ancient times in the American theatre, when we consider what its dramatic status was before the advent of O'Neill; or, if we are charitable, before the

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days of James Herne, Augustus Thomas, Eugene Walker, William Vaughn Moody and Clyde Fitch. The first dramatization of *Rip Van Winkle* reached the stage in Albany in the merry month of May, 1828. Joseph Jefferson, who made Rip famous for our ancestors, first used a version prepared by his half-brother Charles Burke, but then commissioned the topnotch playwright of his day, Dion Boucicault, to revise the play. Jefferson played this version first in London in 1865, and brought it to New York a year later. Its triumph there and on a fabulously profitable nation-wide tour is one of the most roseate memories of the American theatre.

That the success of *Rip* was the personal success of Jefferson has always been acknowledged, and now that we have seen his vehicle in the cold light of modern day, we are certain that this was the case. We do not need old William Winter's assurance that Jefferson "was not only a great actor, he was a man of noble mind, original character, sympathetic temperament, and lively spirit." We may stick at the adjective "great" on general principles, knowing that the parts he played were unlikely to demand true histrionic greatness. In fact, we have the word of John Ranken Towse, the latest of the old guard critics, that his parts never "sounded the heights or depths of emotion, lofty flights of imagination or passion, or demanded the exhibition of uncommon intellectual, moral, or dramatic power." But even if Jefferson's genius "lay within the limits of the middle register," it must have been the actor rather than the play that entranced our grandfathers. And thereby hangs a tale that cannot be repeated too often for the benefit of those who despair of our contemporary stage and those who sigh for the "good old days" of the theatre. I refer to the myth of a theatrical golden age before radio and cinema descended upon us like a plague of locusts, a state of grace from which we have fallen because of the realism of Ibsen, the infiltration of social consciousness via the writers of problem plays or their radical successors, and a general famine of talent or a depletion of available talent by Hollywood.

The truth of the matter is that our predecessors in the nineteenth century enjoyed very bad plays. It is not that they necessarily had very bad taste. Matthew Arnold, in mid-Victorian days, was correct in saying that the same people who read the most distinguishing novels, poetry and fiction thought nothing of surrendering to an evening's nonsense in the playhouses. In America, no doubt, the same could be said of the readers of Emerson, Hawthorne, Melville and Thoreau. The reason is so simple that it is often overlooked. It is that our ancestors simply did not measure the stage by standards of literary excellence: characterization, style and intellectual content. It did not, generally, occur to them to demand of a play what we require of it. They simply divorced theatre from literature. This is not to say that some playwrights did not try to write literature or think they had written literature. They generally

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followed very poor models or tried to follow very good models—Shakespeare, for instance—while lacking the talent to benefit from such worthy emulation. But literature, with all that this implies, was an incidental rather than a prime and required gratification. The "show" was what the audience came to see. Showmanship, which can range from the Furies scene in Aeschylus or the knocking on the gate in *Macbeth* to the lowliest pitchman's pitch, was the uppermost consideration.

Ever since the "little theatre" movement, which started about 1915, and the advent of O'Neill, American taste (at least in the big cities) has inclined toward a "playwright's theatre." Even our taste in musical entertainment has tended more and more toward the literary end of the business; our musical successes are no longer, in the main, Ziegfeld Follies but such items as *Porgy and Bess, Oklahoma, Carousel, Finian's Rainbow* and *Brigadoon.* Even the proverbially tired business man finds infrequent balm in New York—in an occasional *Follow the Girls.* He would do much better to shop around the movie-houses for something consisting of long-limbed girls and technicolor unless he can get a seat at *Annie Get Your Gun.* This does not, of course, mean that all our plays are good literature, but that they are held accountable for at least one or more of the minimal requirements of literature. We expect them to have some dimensional characterization, some adult viewpoint concerning the matter on hand, some restraint in the use of sentiment, some neat turn of dialogue, some wit. (The only semblance of wit in the current production of *Rip Van Winkle* comes from Hendrik Hudson and his crew—and they are silent. Berghof's staging, implemented with some tympanic effect in lieu of speech, is more pointed than anything spoken by Rip in this or any other scene.) When the plays are deficient in one or more of these qualities, they are generally interred in short order by critical denunciation and public apathy. The only exceptions are products of showmanship, as when Helen Hays delivers herself of unwonted antics, and her director Joshua Logan does a trick with lighting and scenery in Anita Loos' *Happy Birthday.*

We even find the "literary" habit, in the minimal sense, infiltrating Hollywood in *Crossfire,* the study of anti-semitism which takes account of social and psychological realities without resorting to euphemisms and employs language in a realistic manner. When we come to stage plays like Sartre's *No Exit* and *The Flies* or the early scenes of Lillian Hellman's *Another Part of the Forest,* in the recently concluded season, we are so far from the soda-pop fizzes of Joseph Jefferson's days that comparison is virtually impossible.

The humor of *Rip* is invertebrate and endlessly repetitious on the one note of genial inebriation and attendant shiftlessness. The characterization of the lovable souse could be written on a dime. The villian is the stockiest of stock characters;

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all he lacks is the moustache he probably had in the original Jefferson production. The sentimentality becomes slush as the snow-bearded hero is recognized after 20 years by his grown-up daughter and welcomed by her and her mother with tears and tremolo. The villain who married Rip's wife is routed, and he must yield both wife and ill-gotten gains. The daughter is saved from the matrimonial designs of the villain's son and goes to the arms of a young man who cites articles of the United States Constitution by paragraph and number in defense of good old Rip.

What underlies the naiveté of the old play and our antipathy toward it would fill an essay on the relativity of manners and thought—an unwelcome essay, since we much prefer to shrug off our divergence from the old or amuse ourselves at our grandfather's expense without risking pomposity by making an effort at analysis. It is plain, nevertheless, that the divergence involves a substantial change in conceptions of good and evil. Not perhaps in actuality so much as in public profession, which made it possible for the more private art of fiction-writing by a Hawthorne or a Melville to provide greater complexity than the plays with respect to motivation, behavior and thought. The trick lay in asking no embarrassing or provocative questions concerning the nature of man or the nature of good and evil. Black is black, and white is white. Man is not allowed to be multi-motivated for fear of complicating the question of right and wrong, concerning which the platitude is the shortest distance between two non-existent points. The moment a writer of the time set out to compose a play for the stage, he either checked his mental faculties in the lobby or exchanged them for a public brain consisting of the lowest common denominator of gray matter reserved for gala occasions. (And the theatre was considered a gala affair in the rococo halls of New York and in the pub of the rawest mining camp.) This situation prevailed throughout the greater part of the past century both in England and America. It is not surprising, therefore, that anything we can regard as dramatic literature, from Shelley's *The Cenci* and Byron's *Cain* to the plays of Tennyson and Swinburne or the dramatic monologues of Robert Browning, constitute reading or so-called "closet drama." If any of them had productions, as when Sir Henry Irving played Tennyson's *Becket,* the event was largely incidental, if not accidental.

It is noteworthy that the men who revived the estate of the drama toward the end of the century were primarily literary men. Whatever their social philosophy, they were extreme individualists who violated the canon of catering to the public, and wilfully drew the theatre-going public up to their level instead of obligingly descending to the level of their audience. They were men who dared to be thinkers rather than showmen, even if they also possessed the faculty of showmanship. Their greatest showmanship, by the way, consisted in their frequently flagrant unconventionality;

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in their daring and in their integrity, which in the case of an Ibsen, Strindberg or Shaw was sufficiently rare in the theatre to seem sensational. Self-expression rather than expression of public self-indulgence was their first consideration, and it remains the indispensable condition of anything resembling creativeness in the drama today. By this sign we recognize an O'Neill, Saroyan, Tennessee Williams or Sartre in our time, and even an O'Casey, Odets, Hellman, and Arthur Miller behind their armor of social crusading. The stereotyped drama of commercial Broadway and of uncommercial left-wingism are equally attributable to ignorance of the first condition of creativeness, the failure to realize the primacy of the artist in his work.

In conclusion, we may let these random considerations remind us that we do the contemporary theatre a disservice when we idolize "theatre," when we surround it with the magic of the stage-struck and the brainless. We stand, in that case, only a step or two above the bobby-sox bacchantes we regard with such indulgent condescension. We are at heart bobby-soxers whether we genuflect to "theatre" as Broadway professionals or as "little theatre" esthetes, whether our god is business or art, whether we swear by crass showmanship or by "art theatre" nuances of stylization. It takes some doing, of course, to discover the bobby-soxer behind the Gordon Craig rhapsodies but he always gives himself away when he ignores the playwright as thinker and glorifies the stage picture and the mood.

To note all this is far more important than to take stock of the *Rip Van Winkle* production. To say that the good actor Philip Bourneuf makes a too rigid Rip in some of the early scenes and a too soft one in the closing scene, or to hold that the play would have come across as a better composition if the production had been better directed is only a way of begging the question. It is true that the direction was too slow at the beginning and went to sentimental seed toward the end. It is also possible that an irreverent attitude in the direction would have been better than a reverent one. It is the play that sticks in our craw, alas. To be conclusive about this matter, it would be well to compare *Rip* with its latter-day counterpart, that other comedy about an amiable souse, *Harvey*, surely no masterpiece in the light of eternity but a cat of a different breed for all that.

Life must be worth living. The cost has doubled and we still hang on.

—*Office Appliances*

* * *

Emily Post on tipping waiters: "The minimum per person is 25 cents in a restaurant with a tablecloth; 10 cents where there is no tablecloth."

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FORUM FEATURES

Several of the vital issues of the year come up for review in the September issue of FORUM.

The Taft-Hartley Law can be termed a turning point in labor-management relations in the United States. The nation is eager to see the outcome. The law has been much discussed and analyzed from divergent viewpoints. FORUM takes pleasure in presenting a study of the law by **Eugene Cotten,** Assistant Counsel for the Congress of Industrial Organizations, in the office of the General Counsel, Lee Pressman.

Should the United States launch an extensive universal military training program? **T. H. Thomas,** a military historian at Harvard University, served on the staff of the Fifth Corps in World War I. He presents for FORUM readers a clear and interesting article with some surprising conclusions.

"Is Our Occupation Policy in Germany a Failure?" **David Glen White,** attached to the United States Overseas Military Government Control Office in Germany, presents a defense of the program as viewed from the front row. **Frederick Cramer,** who was born in Berlin and received his early education there, condemns the United States' policy. Mr. Cramer, who is a Professor of History at Mount Holyoke College, studied at Berlin University, Erlangen University in Bavaria, Columbia University in New York and the University of Zurich, Switzerland.

The International Trade Conference in Geneva has, in recent months, wavered from one knotty problem to a state of virtual deadlock. United States tariff policies hold a key to trade recovery. FORUM readers who have followed the progress of the wool tariff in the international scene, will read with interest the Congressional debate on the wool bill in the September FORUM.

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